

EDUCATION QUESTION IN TRAVANCORE

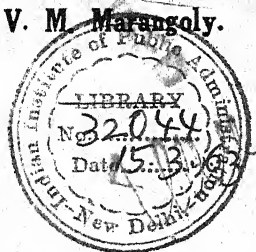
[*A symposium of the various pronouncements of the Government of Travancore and Sir. C. P. on the subject and the criticism directed against certain details of policy by leading men in the state and outside*
Including all relevant documents, letters, resolutions and speeches]

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PREFACE

It is with great pleasure that I accede to the request of the publisher to write a Preface to this veritable symposium on the present controversy over the new Education policy of the Travancore Government. Mr. Marangoly has shown an active interest in this question and taken great pains to collect together the opinions of several distinguished persons on this burning topic of the day; and this fruit of his labour is a valuable addition to the already large volume of literature bearing on this vital question. Within these pages one can find answers to such queries as "Why Christians are opposed to the state *monopoly* of primary education?" ; "Are Christians opposed to the introduction of free compulsory, primary education?" ; "Is there real popular backing for this new educational policy of the Travancore Government?" ; "In adopting this new policy did the Travancore Government take the people into confidence?" ; "Why Christians want to have schools of their own?" ; "What is meant by Christian Atmosphere?" These and many other queries will be found answered by experts in an expert manner, calmly, yet boldly, without fear or favour.

His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. L. Mathias, S. C. D. D., Archbishop of Madars, has his dynamic, personality and his burning missionary zeal reflected in his contribution to this controversy. Though not in or of Travancore, he feels like a Travancorean, and even more,

because he represents not a local interest, but the fundamental ideas of the venerable Catholic Church. His Grace speaks as an authoritative representative of the Hierarchy in India, of whom he is one of the shining stars. His Lordship the Rt. Rev. Dr. P. Thomas, Bishop of Bangalore, and Rev. Fr. Carty S. J., have also shown their interest in this important matter by their valuable statements. Their taking a leading part in this education controversy has been a pointer to outsiders to realise that the Travancore Government has tread on the corns of a mighty organisation, called the Catholic Church.

Mr. Justice Thaliath, M. A., Bar-at-Law, who occupies a unique position among the Catholics of Kerala as well as among the servants of the Travancore Government, as a retired Chief Justice of the Travancore High Court, has, in his contribution, delivered a masterly 'judgment' on the Travancore issue. His chronological and logical presentation of the 'case' is but a reflection of his ripe judicial mind. Only the profoundly prejudiced people may fail to see eye to eye with his arguments and conclusions.

Mr. K. George, B. A., is another of the distinguished servants of the Travancore Government, who had occupied highest executive offices as Chief Secretary to the Travancore Government and as Land Revenue and Income-Tax Commissioner. In spite of his ill-health, his impartial mind and strength of conviction have driven him to make an extraordinarily effective address as President of the public meeting of *Christians of all denominations* in Trivandrum—the very seat of the Travancore Government. His 'executive mind' has enabled him to marshal facts and figures, statements and arguments,

pointing out the fallacies and inaccuracies in the Communiqués and Proceedings of the Travancore Government as well as in the misguided statements of high personalities outside Travancore, who have indiscreetly come out with their own pronouncements on Travancore affairs, without taking the least trouble to verify their facts and statements.

Rev. Fr. L. J. Chittoor, Ph. D., D. D., as a member of the Education Committee of the All-Kerala Catholic Congress, has done yeomen service to the defence of the Catholic Educational principles, by bringing out some enlightening thoughts on fundamental ideas out of the depths of his learning. It must be recognized that the Congress put the right man in the right place to guide the controversy along the right lines, following the teachings of the Church and the utterances of eminent men of every age and clime.


I find my own humble contribution on the Travancore Question is also reproduced in this book perhaps just to make this symposium of views and ideas as complete as possible. Therein will be found a practical solution of the problem of the grievances of teachers in private schools—a problem brought forward by the Diwan of Travancore as a plea for the Government to take over the management of all primary schools in the State.

The publisher has done a valuable service to those interested in this controversy, in Travancore and outside, by bringing out this timely, useful publication—a service on which he deserves to be congratulated and for which the public ought to be grateful to him. Such a timely publication deserves to be widely circulated, among

Christians as well as non-Christians, from the Himalayas in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. I wish this publication wide publicity, so that those who have eyes to see might see the truth about the Travancore education controversy, so that those who are not blinded by prejudice might realise the injustice of the new Educational policy of the Travancore Government, so that non-Christians in India might realise the true nature of the Christian stand *vis-a-vis* the new Educational policy and understand why this controversy has been so prolonged and how it could be ended.

Thevara, Ernakulam }
New Year Day, 1946. }

C. J. Varkey
Ex-Minister for Education,
Government of Madras.



INTRODUCTION

Travancore occupies an enviable position among Indian States, both on account of its intrinsic value and on account of the wide publicity given to it. Situated at the extreme south of India, it comprises an area of about 8000 square miles and has a population of over 6 millions. It is one of the most prosperous and most thickly populated regions of India. It has immense natural resources and its rapidly increasing population has been noted, in the past, as well as at present, for their wealth, culture, enlightenment and enterprise. Travancore has the highest percentage of literacy in India. The State has been blessed by a long line of enlightened rulers who, while wielding autocratic power under the suzerainty of imperial Britain, were wise enough to regard the unity and happiness and contentment of their people as their highest attainment so much so that Travancore has, for long come to be regarded as the "Progressive State" and the ruling House as a happy exception to the Princely Order in India. The present Maharaja, His Highness Sri Chithira Thirunal, ascended the Gadi in 1932 at the early age of 18. Various circumstances have combined to make His Highness' reign memorable in the history of the State and Travancore has been attracting greater attention in British India and the outside world during this period than ever before. Modern means of propaganda have been successfully utilised to make the State better known and the fame and personality of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the Dewan, has contributed not a little to the achievement of this greater publicity. It is noteworthy that Sir. C. P. has been associated with the administration of the State ever since the present Maharaja ascended the throne 14 years ago. In fact that astute politician and publicist has managed to keep Travancore in the limelight all through this long and hectic period.

The average man in British India gets his ideas about Travancore and the happenings in that fairyland through the medium of the Associated Press, the Madras papers—and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. The last mentioned, one should acknowledge, is a propaganda agency in himself—considering his frequent visits to politically strategic places in India and the volume of speeches he makes inside and outside the State. The British Indian public have been told, retold, assured and reassured that under the wise and benevolent administration of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Travancore is taking rapid strides in industrial development, in rural uplift, in education, in constitutional reform, in political progress. The very magnitude and variety of this propaganda and the persistency with which it is maintained and emphasised must create doubts in the minds of the thinking public. Faint echoes of some recent happenings in the State and the pointed denunciation of the present regime in Travancore by Pandit Javaharlal Nehru at Udayapore must have served to dispel their illusions and induced them to ask what is wrong in that Denmark of India.

What is wrong in Travancore? The answer to that question will be supplied by another question, What is wrong with India? India's ills have been attributed to the presence of a foreign power on its soil—the exploitation of the resources of the land in the interests of foreigners, the policy of divide and rule followed by the administration and the consequent communal rift among the people. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer is a "friend" of the Royal family of Travancore, but all the same, he is a foreigner and under his unprecedentedly long and ever-extended administration foreign interests have taken deep roots in the soil. He has managed to fill most of the key positions in the State with men of his own caste, many of them foreigners like himself. The dumping of foreign experts continues. By various manoeuvres he has managed to keep himself in power for over 14 years now

and has also secured a still further extension of five years. Till his coming Dewanship in Travancore used to be of 3 or 4 years' duration. Under his long administration the unity of the people has been definitely broken and communal harmony is a thing of the past. There were minorities in Travancore before Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer stepped into the land but there was no "minority problem". The Caste Hindu, the Downcast Hindu, the Christian and the Muslim have been living side by side, for centuries, in complete harmony, united in unswerving loyalty to the throne. The policy followed by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has created a minority problem for Travancore which is becoming more and more acute every day. According to the last census, out of 6 million people in Travancore nearly 2 millions are Christians, $\frac{1}{2}$ a million Muslims and the rest Hindus. The vast majority of Christians live in the northern half of the State, the rest being scattered as is the case with the Muslims. The analogy with the position of communities in British India will at once be obvious to the reader. The Christian minority in Travancore stands in the same relative position as the Muslim minority in India. But till now there was nothing in Travancore corresponding to the perennial Hindu—Muslim riots in British India. The Christians did not come into existence as a result of any Christian conquest of the land: the sword has never been used for the propagation of Christianity. A feeling of Hindu versus Christian seemed impossible until now. Sir. C. P. and his foreign associates have dealt a mortal blow to this harmony. Among the various devices invented by Sir. C. P. to maintain himself in power in Travancore, and to make his administration popular in British India none has been more ingenious than the creation of the "Christian bogey". In an interview with the editor of the Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, in 1938, he openly declared that Travancore would cease to be a Hindu State if the Christians there were allowed a free hand. Characteristically

enough, he quoted the proportion of Christians in the State as 40 per cent though he must have known that it was less than 33 per cent. The Christian community in Travancore has existed for over 18 long centuries now and, without the prophetic vision and the helping hand of a Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the Hindus in the State did retain their position. But Sir. C. P., in his apostolic zeal, would help the State to maintain its Hindu character. He would see that the Christians in the State did not grow up to 41 per cent which is the danger point. Both inside the State and outside he has been posing as an apostle of Hinduism, and, it must be admitted, the pose has been popular. The policy he has pursued ever since he took up the reins of administration in Travancore—every “constitutional advice” he has tendered and every “reform” he has sponsored smacks of this holy zeal, this anti-Christian bias. The best solution to the problem so artificially created in Travancore is for the foreigner to *quit*. The Hindus of Travancore and the Christians who live in their midst will settle their differences if allowed to do so. It is the foreigner who stands in the way.

Quit Travancore! Why was not this strangely analogous cry heard till now?—the British Indian public will ask, Is not Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer now entering on his fourth term as a veritable Roosevelt? like his recently announced Reforms, he himself seems to be of American model!. Is he not the friend of the forgotten man, and champion of the ‘Four Freedoms’? Those who have known Sir C. P. as an administrator in British India during the days of the Wellingtons or during the August Disturbances could not have noticed in him much of a solicitude for the forgotten man or any love of the freedoms Transplanted from the centres of British rule to the congenial atmosphere of native autocracy has this prodigy of Indian politics really developed qualities, the exact opposite of those of his former days? It has, if propaganda is to be believed. More than any

other Indian administrator of modern times Sir. C. P. has made use of propaganda and his propaganda has been of the most unscrupulous and mendacious type, if also the most carefully calculated and adroitly executed. He has made short work of the free press of Travancore. The existing papers there, can be classified into two broad divisions: the Everfor Government Press and the Afraid of Government Press. The former enjoys signal favours, is heavily subsidised and can indulge in communal recriminations in total disregard of all laws. The latter must dance on tight ropes with the abyss always yawning under them. The A. P. I. branch at Trivandrum and Sir. C. P.'s favourite Information Director tell both classes of papers what they are expected to say. A. P. I. has become the greatest power behind Sir. C. P. It is heavily subsidised by him and forms the net work that connects the local papers, the Brahmin-owned Madras press and the loud speaking minor politicians—Knights and Rt. Honourables—whom Sir C. P. or the fates for him have placed in all strategic places in India. As soon as he says or does anything, nay before he gets up or yawns the A. P. I. net work begins to operate and the local Press, the Madras Press and minor politicians begin to sing "hossana" to the Son of Mylapore. There are statements, leading articles, letters to the editor, telegrams, congratulations. How large a portion of the State's Income and what proportion of the immense fortune which Sir. C. P. has amassed under the cover of autocracy and which will obviously grow to millions during the post-war reconstruction period, only an impartial public enquiry can tell—yes, British Indian public, the "Cry" was there in the hearts of the dumb millions of Travancore, and it was becoming increasingly audible in spite of the stifling. And it was not a minority cry. By a masterpiece of manoeuvre on the eve of his fourth term, which has had wide repercussions in India Sir. C. P. has transformed that cry into a minority cry—at any rate it looks so. The publication by Sir. C. P., of a booklet

entitled "World Religions" which is a standing monument of his anti-Christian attitude, and in which Christianity has been portrayed as only an off-shoot of Mithraism thus wounding the feelings of one third of His Highness' loyal subjects is but one of the items that has already been put in to operation. Every paper that gives publicity to real facts is either "banned" or forced to "withdraw" under threat of being banned! "O Tempora! O Mores!" The *Kerala Kawmudi*, one among the Pro-Government papers, did publish a great number of offensive articles ridiculing Christianity and the clergy. The matter was brought to the attention of the Dewan in the Assembly. The answer was that the press was free [for anti-Christian propaganda?] and that legal opinion would be sought. Unfortunately that opinion never emerged out of the conclave. That is the way how one of the "Four Freedoms" is to-day being practised in a progressive State like Travancore.

It is not possible in this small volume to give a complete resume of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's administration of Travancore and the communal tension prevailing in the State today. Its purpose is limited to the presentation of the real point of view of the Christian minority towards one of the "reforms" recently enacted in Travancore viz., "the Scheme of Free and Compulsory Education"—that is how showman Ramaswami Iyer would make things look glorious—Free and Compulsory Education! It will be news to people outside to be told that primary education has been free in Travancore by law and in fact for half a century now. For publicity's sake Sir C. P. would make free what was already free. But hereafter it will be free in name and costly in fact; for an educational cess, in addition to ordinary taxation is to be levied and taxation itself is to be increased by yet another "reform". No man in his senses would oppose free and compulsory education, and no Christian, no Catholic does. Christians oppose not free and compulsory education, but what is being attempted under

the guise of it: *monopoly* of education by the State and regimentation of Children on the totalitarian model. I have tried to present all relevant records and documents connected with the introduction of the Scheme. The chapter headed "The Metamorphosis of Travancore Education Policy" given at the end of this book will reveal the manoeuvres behind the introduction of the Scheme and show why the Christian minority opposes certain features of it. A patient and sympathetic perusal of the following pages will help to dispel the misunderstandings and the utterly wrong notions created in the minds of the Indian public by deliberate and mischievous propaganda. (1)

Before I conclude this introduction I would ask one pertinent question. What is the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the claims of the Indian Christian community regarding the education of their children? (2) The Muslim community has more or less been engrossed with the idea of Pakisthan and under Pakisthan a similar question, perhaps does not arise. But monopoly of education in a State or Province with Hindu predominance will most certainly be opposed by the Muslim community. The Congress, we know, is pledged to the abolition of illiteracy, and will certainly introduce compulsory primary education when it attains power. But will a Congress Government in India, go beyond effective

1 This volume had to be got together in a hurry and therefore leaves much to be desired in the arrangement of the material at hand. The reader's attention is particularly invited to the chapter entitled "*Truth about Travancore Education policy*" by Joseph Thaliath esqr. Retired Chief Justice.

2 In a speech before a Christian audience at Mangalore on Feb 16, 1946, Acharia Kripalini, General Secretary of the Congress is reported as saying that "*Private agencies would be welcome to conduct schools and they would be entitled to Government grants so long as they maintain the prescribed standard of secular education*" Coming from such a high source this statement is most welcome, P.

Control of education, to the extend of *abolition* of denominational schools or virtual *monopoly* of education by the State? Will it treat this question as one to be settled by agreement among the parties or as one over which the majority party's views must prevail? The attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the Christian community in India, is often influenced by the idea that they are the byproducts of foreign rule and tainted by unpatriotic and anti-national sentiments. It must be admitted that want of political awakening in the community itself is largely responsible for this prejudice. But there is no community in India more genuinely national in outlook than the Christians of Malabar. They are not foreigners or descendants of foreigners. They have been in India for nearly 1900 years now and are, thus, older than the Muslim community, perhaps older than the Parsee. It is this community which a foreign adventurer has been trying to put down, to persecute, to destroy. Will the Indian National Congress and its leaders be content to remain as indifferent, unsympathetic spectators of this persecution?

S. H. College, Thevara }

25—2,—1946. }

Publisher.

THE TRAVANCORE QUESTION

(*C. J. Varkey, K. S. G., M. A.*)

The controversy over the new education policy of the Travancore Government has unfortunately been carried on for so long a period and in so sickening a manner that lovers of peaceful progress and of communal harmony in the country must make a serious and sincere effort to end this controversy. As one who has had a long connection, in different capacities, with Education as well as with Catholic Education and Institutions, I trust I will be given a patient and reasonable hearing. As an Indian, longing for the early attainment of India's independence, and as a Catholic longing for a better understanding and concord between major and minor communities in the country, I am convinced that the prolongation of this controversy is dangerous to the continuance of the past happy relationship between the State and the Church and between Hindus and Christians in India. I am also equally convinced that, if this controversy has taken an unpleasant turn, it is due to a want of clear understanding of the Catholic position by the public and the Government and of the Government's position by the Catholics.

First of all, let me express my appreciation of the move of the Travancore Government to introduce free and compulsory primary education in the State, realising that it is a primary duty of the State to promote the literacy of its subjects. Every lover of the cultural as well as of the economic and political progress of India must heartily support this timely move of the progressive State

of Travancore. But this is nothing new. Ever since the move made by the great patriot and statesman, G. K. Gokhale this has been the dream of all national leaders and of far-seeing administrators. During the Justice Ministry, the first move was made in the Province of Madras, and the Congress Ministry enthusiastically continued it, making primary education free and compulsory in *selected* areas (as was the case with Prohibition). Many Municipalities and District Boards adopted it. So, if Travancore has adopted it now, it is nothing new.

What is really new in this policy is the fixing of a definite period of ten years to complete the introduction of the scheme throughout the Travancore State. This feature of the policy shows both wisdom and a sense of reality on the part of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar, the able Diwan who presides over the destinies of Travancore today, and every one must congratulate him on these two features of his education policy.

State Monopoly

But there is a third feature which is not only new but radical and revolutionary, viz., the decision of the Travancore Govt. to eliminate in the course of ten years, every one of the private schools in the field of primary education thus bringing all primary schools in the State, not only under the *control*, but also under the *management* of the Government. Thus at the end of ten years, every primary school in the State will be a Government or Sarkar school, the State having a *monopoly* of primary education! It is this revolutionary feature of the new policy that is being opposed by the Catholics of Travancore, and— as it is likely to spread to other parts of

India—by the Catholics all over India today. While Brahmins, Nairs, Ezhavas and others of the Hindu fold, welcome the new policy of monopoly. Catholics alone oppose it, and why?

The true answer to this question has not been understood by many Non-Catholics. When my esteemed friends like the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar, Diwan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri and others make statements not based on facts nor grounded on an understanding of the real relation of this question to the politics of Travancore, one feels greatly distressed and grieved and feel therefore, pressed to enlighten them so that the past harmony and concord between the various communities and persons working for the progress of the country, might continue to their mutual benefit as well as to the good of the nation.

Let me first assure Non-Christian friends of FIVE FACTS.

(1) The agitation of the Travancore Catholics is not the result of any kind of disloyalty to the Royal Family or to the Government or to the Diwan. Catholics and their Bishops and Priests faithfully follow the teaching of the Founder of their Church, Who has commanded them to give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. Hence that are the most loyal of all the subjects—a truth admitted by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar himself in some of his speeches.

(2) Catholics are not against free and universal primary education. In fact, they have been pioneers in this field everywhere. Attached to every church, in village or town, you will find a Catholic School, so that every

boy and girl of the locality, irrespective of creed and caste, may receive the benefits of primary education. The very Malayalam word for a school—പള്ളി (Pallikudam)—is a proof of this fact. The only difference lies in the nature of the force applied to enforce compulsion: the Church uses moral force and pressure; the State uses the physical force of the policeman and the court. Which of the two is better?—let the nationalists of the Gandhian school answer this question. If they are true to Gandism, they will certainly prefer a system in which moral force is employed. This is the time-honoured traditional policy of the Catholic Church and of other Christian denominations, and it is this early educational work of the Christian missions that has enabled Cochin and Travancore to occupy the first place, in the matter of literacy in India. What gratitude, then, the State owes the Church!

(3) By taking a distinct stand on this educational question, Catholics do not intend to form a separate 'Catholicasthan' in Travancore or in India. They are not isolationists like the advocates of Pakistan and Dravidasthan. They stand for the political unity of India, based on a social unity, bringing together children of all creeds and castes in a common school during their impressionable age and stamping upon their minds the seal of unity. If any administrator examines the figures in his own Education Department, as I have done while I was Minister for Education, he will find that Christian schools and colleges are more representative of all communities in a locality or town or district than a Government or Local Board school or schools run

by such private agencies as Ramakrishna Mission or Nair Society or Muslim Education Association. These Christian schools are really, silently and most efficaciously producing men and women imbued with the ideal of brotherhood, which is so essential to create the social unity of India as the necessary background for her political unity. And you want to kill the goose that lays golden eggs!

Religious Teaching and Conversion

(4) A fact that is not known to many, but has to be known to all, is that in Catholic schools and colleges, Catholic religion is taught *only* to Catholic pupils. This has been the traditional policy of the Catholic Church, unlike the Protestant churches. Those educated in Protestant Missionary institutions, like Sir C. P., who, in their school and college days, had, willingly or unwillingly, attended the "Bible Class" because of the compulsory attendance enforced on them by the rules of the school or colleges, ought to be careful in making generalisations on this question, — unless their object is to mislead others.

(5) The last, but the most important, fact to be realised is that Catholics do not run schools and colleges for "conversion work". This statement can be supported by three facts, which ought to be borne in mind when eminent men like Rt. Hon. Sastri and Sir C. P. take up their pen or open their mouth next time to attack Catholics. (a) If "conversion" were the object of starting and running schools and colleges, at so much sacrifice

of men and money, these colleges and schools should have rapidly dwindled in numbers, for they have not got converts for the Church, and yet Catholics go on building new schools and colleges all over the country! If so, their object must be something else. (b) If their object were conversion of Non-Christians, they would have compelled all boys and girls of other religious studying in their schools, to attend the Religious Instruction class. The fact that *only Catholics are allowed* to attend this class shows that the Catholic Managements do not want to interfere with the religion of other pupils. (c) The very fact that Catholic educational agencies hold the religious instruction class for Catholic pupils *outside* the school hours, shows that they have not placed before them the teaching of religion to other pupils and their conversion as the object of their educational work. Let none who is not blinded by prejudice or ignorance repeat this charge against Catholic schools and colleges, unless the purpose of this charge is to justify withdrawal of grants from public funds for such schools. When the Rt. Hon. Sastri referred to the Lindsay Commission Report and the Missionary Conference he once attended in London, he was referring to the traditional policy of the *Protestant Missions* in England and America, viz., to support their schools and colleges in India only to the extent of their success in the work of conversion.

Claim for Existence and Grants

What then, is the real purpose for which the Catholic Church opens and maintains Catholic schools?

The answer is to satisfy a need which could be satisfied in no other way. A parent-Hindu or Muslim or Christian has a natural duty to give a suitable education to his child, and he has, therefore, a corresponding right to choose the type of school for his child's education. A sound education must develop the complete man--the body, the mind and the soul, and must, therefore, provide for the child's physical, intellectual and spiritual or moral formation. If Non-Catholics have not yet heartily joined the Catholics in fighting against the new revolutionary policy of the Travancore Government, it is perhaps due to the fact that they are satisfied with the one-sided education imparted in neutral schools like those run by Government or by Municipalities or District Boards. Catholics are not satisfied with a one sided education; their idea of sound education is this: "To confine education to the cultivation of those faculties only, which subserve mere worldly purposes, and to make no account of that particular training which is indispensable to win success in the eternal life that is to follow, would be unreasonable and criminal. Education in order to be sound and to produce beneficent results must develop what is best in man, and make him not only *clever* and *good*".

Herein lies the fundamental reason for a Catholic parent to send his child to a Catholic school, wherein he can become clever in secular studies as in Government schools, and can also become good by getting a correct moral formation, to which Catholic school and colleges pay great attention, and for which Non-Catholic parents send their children in thousands to Catholic-

schools and colleges. Now, moral formation must rest on a moral code or a code of morality and morality to be effective must be based on a system of religion; and this the Catholic child gets in his Religious Instruction class outside the school hours. Thus the Catholic Church produces, through her numerous schools and colleges, men and women imbued with a sense of duty and devotion to the State, of obedience to law, and of respect to all lawful authority. Is this not a valuable service which the Christian Schools and Colleges render to the State, and is it statesmanship on the part of a Government to reject this offer of humanitarian social service as co-partner with the State in the work of producing *clever* and *good* citizens for the State?

If a Christian school does this service, if it is as efficient as a State school, and as well conducted by a stable Management as a Government school, has not that school a right to exist as well as to get aid from the State which it faithfully serves? As a matter of fact, out of 3,052 primary schools in the Travancore State, as many as 2,169, i. e., 71 percent, are run by diverse private agencies; and out of 2,169 private schools over 80 percent are run by Christian educational agencies, educating 3,63,300 pupils as against 1,91,500 in Govt. schools. And these Christian-owned schools are housed in approved buildings, built out of the funds of Christian Churches and associations; and they are following the courses of studies, curriculum and books prescribed by the Government; and it has been admitted by Govt. and very often on the floor of the Houses of

Legislature by Non-Christian members that in efficiency these Christian schools stand much higher than Government schools.

And yet the Travancore Government has now decided to wipe out this type of well-conducted Christian schools by starving them by denying them grants from their funds. If, over and above the courses of studies and curriculum prescribed by Government, these school buildings are utilised to impart a little religious instruction to Christian pupils attending them, and that *outside the school hours and without any expense to the Government*, they are to be denounced as schools of "special religious education" and denied any grant! Is this justice; is this statesmanship? Is it not tantamount to the persecution of Christian subjects, because they are *Christians*?

False Propaganda

As a result of my recent visits to several parts of Travancore, studying the situation on the spot, I discovered that thousands of Travancore Christians had already left the State and settled down in the British Districts of Malabar and South Kanara—a fact brought home to me when I visited Calicut last week. So, too, Christian students are leaving Travancore University to study in colleges outside Travancore under the Madras, Bombay and Calcutta Universities. They are escaping in this way what, they feel, is a wave of persecution of Christians in Travancore.

While such is the actual position, the world outside Travancore is made to believe that the Christians

are demanding new claims that they must have a new freedom to teach and force their religion on others and that their schools must be given financial aid for this purpose. This is a false propaganda. In fact, the Christians want nothing new; they demand a *mere continuance of their right to teach their own religion to their pupils in their own schools, and outside the school hours*. They too are nationalists. Like those outside Travancore, they too are not for sectarian schools open to any one community only. They believe in common schools, open to all castes and creeds, whoever conducts them—Government or stable, well-established educational agencies, like Ramakrishna Mission, Christian Missions, Nair Society, S. N. D. P., or Muslim Associations. And they are ready to co-operate with the State in working successfully the scheme for free and compulsory primary education, and for this, they have already better buildings and better equipment, as well as men and women who have adopted education as their life-vocation. Outside Travancore, in other parts of India, it is with the co-operation of such good educational agencies that free and compulsory scheme is worked. Why should Travancore alone reject this offer of help and co-operation?

Another instance of false propaganda is the statement issued by the Travancore Government that they are merely carrying out the wishes of the Legislature. But the truth is otherwise: the Legislature carried out the wishes of the Government. The public outside Travancore have not understood the secret of the situation. The Education Reorganisation Committee recommended in their report that private educational agencies should be encouraged

by a more liberal support, and this recommendation went contrary to the designs of the Government, viz., to suppress all private primary schools. Therefore, the Government issued a 'whip' to official members, nominated members, and the representatives of their 'pocket boroughs' in the Legislature to vote for the unofficial motion asking for the introduction of State monopoly of primary education—a fact clearly proved by the voting in the Assembly; and this is the much-talked of majority in the Legislature asking the Government to take over the management of all private schools! Secondly, the ordinary constitutional procedure of a good government is to consult the opinion of interests and agencies that would be affected, if the Government were to carry out the Legislature's wishes. Instead, the Government immediately came out with their proceedings, announcing that the Government had decided to introduce a policy of state monopoly as recommended by the Legislature. This is the much-talked of popular government in Travancore! Is this democracy or autocracy? Let unprejudiced' men—outside Travancore—now realise the hollowness of the claim of popular support put forward by the Government.

The Solution

If the Government were to turn round and say that, because teachers are not adequately paid by private schools, these schools must be wiped out of existence, the reply is that it is not statesmanship to cut off the nose to spite the face. During the Congress Ministry, I had to face a similar situation in the Province of Madras, and the solution I then introduced may well be prescribed for the Travancore State too.

Out of the total grant allotted to a school, 85 per cent was fixed as teachers due and 15 percent as the Manager's due for contingent expenses; and if any Manager failed to pay the teacher his due share of the grant, the Educational Officer was authorised to pay the teacher directly from the Government Treasury, and thus the teacher was protected from the tyranny of the manager. Again, if in spite of repeated warnings, the Manager of a school did not extend or improve the school building, or provide adequate equipment and playground, or appoint the required number of qualified teachers, or dismissed them at will, its recognition was withdrawn.

Such are the ways of improving and cleaning the field of primary education, and not killing all schools, good and bad, so that the State may enjoy a monopoly of primary education. Unless the Travancore Government re examines the question, and allows good private schools under different stable agencies, to continue and receive adequate or reasnable grants, Catholics as a body will continue their present constitutional agitation, and many may die as martyrs for the cause of their children's education and their religious beliefs and convictions. I confidently hope that matters would not he pushed to such an extent, and that the time-honoured policy of toleration of the Travancore Royal Family will not be departed from and that the reputation of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar as one of the ablest administrators India has produced in modern days, will not be dimmed by unwise and unstatesmanlike actions as the uncrowned Raja of Travancore !

Liberty of Conscience*

By

J. C. Chacko,

B. A., B. Sc. (Lond.) A. R. C. S. (Lond.) A. R. S. M. (Lond.) .

I have agreed to preside over this meeting not in the belief that I am conversant with the subjects that will have to be discussed here. It is true that I am a somewhat educated person and it is also true that I was a schoolmaster once upon a time. But I must say that I have not paid any particular attention to the present-day theories of education. I am here only as a lover of the liberty of conscience and it is only in its name that I have agreed to take this chair although for many other reasons I would have preferred to be a mere looker-on.

I am a short of Gamaliel in the view I take of anti-Catholic measures. You will remember the incident narrated in the Acts of the Apostles. Peter and the other Apostles were brought before the Jewish Council loudly protesting that they "ought to obey God rather than men" Gamaliel, a Doctor of the Law and the preceptor of the great St. Paul, stood up and said, Ye men of Israel "take,

* [*Presidential Address at the mass meeting of the Catholics of Pulincunnu, Travancore. held on the 16th September, 1945.*]

heed to yourselves what you intend to do as touching these men.....And now therefore I say to you refrain from these men and leave them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought. But, if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it: less perhaps you be found even to fight against God". What is God's God will protect.

Bismarck, the great German Chancellor, tried an experiment in controlling education. He claimed the right of supervision even over Seminaries and wanted to make German the medium of instruction in that part of Poland which came under German sovereignty. We know how Ledokowski, the Archbishop of Posen-Gnesen, preferred going to gaol to giving up the right of the Church to preach to every nation in its own language in obedience to the command of our Lord to the Apostles to go and preach to all nations. We know how the great Pope Leo XIII raised him to Cardinalate in recognition of his apostolic courage while he was still in gaol and sent the insignia thereof to him in gaol. We also know how the great Bismarck was defeated by the wise diplomacy of that most diplomatic Pope and lost his chancellorship.

We know how in our own times Hitler and Mussolini attempted to pervert youth by claiming for the State the right for their education against the rights of parents to bring up children according to their religious ideals. We have seen to what sad end they came in the intoxication of their power. Nemesis is a peculiar goddess. Like Kamadeva she is mind-born and sometimes takes birth in the minds of the very persons whom she wishes to

punish. But for her dictates which led them to declare war against the world they might have been still living.

Going back to the early centuries of the Christian era we find Christianity a hunted and persecuted religion. In those days the world had not seen a world religion like Christianity. According to the conception of the State in those days each State had a religious peculiarity its own and whoever deviated from it was supposed to be deficient in allegiance to the State. The Christians protested that they were only giving God what is God's and not refusing Caesar what was Caesar's. But the idea of State religion was so deep-rooted that the Caesar could not accept the plea and persecuted the poor Christians for over three hundred years. Out of this cruel persecution the Church came out triumphant by the use of no weapon other than patient suffering.

I have given these instances in order to impress on you that there is no reason why we should get excited over the situation which we have assembled here to consider, but may calmly follow the advice of Gamaliel. Let us approach the question dispassionately trying to understand whether there is any reason on the opposite side and how it can be reconciled with our own.

First of all let us examine the position of the Church in the matter of education. We see from the elements of catechism which we have all learnt that to teach the ignorant is an act of charity. We call it an act of spiritual charity corresponding to the corporal charity of feeding the poor. The Church has been true to this ideal from the very beginning. The ancient universitie

of Europe, such as Oxford and Cambridge, bear witness to this fact. The civilisations of Europe and many other parts of the world may be traced to the endeavours of the Church in the exercise of this spiritual charity. Even India, which can boast of high pre-Christian civilisation has to admit that it owes much to the educational activities of Christian missionaries and to this Christian spirit displayed by Christian nations in India.

If it is charity to instruct the ignorant, it goes without saying that the instruction imparted must be of a wholesome kind. We do not feed the poor with unwholesome food.

Let us now turn to the provisions of Canon Law. The subjects of schools is dealt within Book III, Part IV. Title XXII of the Codex of Canon Law in Canons 1372 to 1383. The first of these ordains that "All the faithful are to be so instructed from their youth that, not only nothing that is contrary to the Catholic religion and the rectitude (honestas) of morals may be imparted to them, but religious and moral instruction may hold a special place". And sub-section (1) of Canon 1373 enjoins that "In every elementary school religious instruction should be given to the children suitable to their age".

The Govt. Press Communique in reply to Fr. Carty. S. J., and others, says that the basis of the views expressed and pressed by Catholics is seen to be an Encyclical of Pope Pius XI published in 1929 and that it cannot be expected that the Governments of Native States, who have to view the claims of different religions with impartiality, will accept the precepts of the Encyclical. The

Catholic view of education is much older than Encyclical it is as old as the Church itself, although Pius XI, as the Supreme Infallible Pastor, has by his Encyclical re-emphasised it. It is true that a Papal decree is not binding on any State. But by that very religious impartiality, which the Communique says makes the Pope's view unacceptable, must induce a State that is not totalitarian to respect the feelings of Catholics. To give religious instruction to their children is a part of the religious practice of Catholics. Is it not the duty of the State to see that each community under its protection has the liberty to practise its religion unhampered?

The educational policy of the Church even in Travancore is much older than the State's conception that it had a duty to provide education to its subjects. Before the State undertook education the Church had a school in every parish, where instruction in secular subjects was provided along with religious instruction for Catholic pupils. The very word *Pallikkootam* for school in the Malayalam language is suggestive of the intimate connection of schools with churches (*pallis*). It is this long-standing tradition that the State now seems to want to violate.

We have been waging a war for the destruction of totalitarianism and the rehabilitation of individual and communal liberty. And we have won it. It is very regrettable that, before the wounds inflicted by such a war are healed, the Travancore Legislature should pass a resolution which, whatever be its form, has the effect of destroying the religious freedom of a large minority in the State. By this resolution the Legislature has also given

a handle to Mr. Jinnah, who, fearing, rightly it seems, the intolerance of the majority, is fighting for Pakistan Hinduism is indeed very tolerant within its own fold, as it can tolerate every shade of thought between Charvaka's atheism and Sankara's pantheism. But when it comes to a religion which has not had its origin in India, it takes up a different attitude.

When I read Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer's pamphlet on 'World Religions' I wondered why such a learned and illustrious administrator descended to the level of a pamphleteer. I suspected that it might be a prelude to an educational policy. The resolution passed by the Legislature and the manner in which it is championed by the Press Communique and other pronouncements indicate that I was not quite wrong in my surmise.

Before passing on to other matters I will allude here to the criticism in the Press Communique directed against Fr. Carty's letter, which appeared in *The Mail* of August 30 (Dak Edition). The criticism seems to me to be merely verbal and not substantial. It is true that "Religious instruction has never formed a part of the regular curriculum in schools". But it could be an extra-curricular subject in private schools and is so in Christian schools. Will the subject occupy at least this position in schools when Government have assumed them in pursuance of the resolution of the Legislature? There is clear indication in the Communique and other pronouncements that it will not. What is then the effect of the resolution? Is not Fr. Carty justified in what he said? If further proof be required about the intention of the

resolution recommending the assumption by Government of the private Primary Schools we have it in the resolution passed by the State Council against religious instruction.

I have seen it said by some that the resolutions passed in the Legislature are the outcome of atheistic communism. They are nothing of the kind. The Members who pressed and voted for the resolutions do not seem to be actuated by the altruism which communists claim they have. These Members have only made an attempt to liquidate Christianity, which, they think, makes its progress through its schools and other public institutions. Are Hindus irreligious? No, they are not. Then, why should they be so much against religious instruction in school? We have the proverb "cut off one's nose to spite one's face". The other day I was reading the editorial in the issue of the 13th August last of the Muslim paper "Mithram" published from Quilon. There is much food in it for thought. What I do not quite understand is why the Government should so stoutly champion the resolution.

It was reported in the papers that a Hindu Member of the Legislature reminded the House that Travancore was a Hindu State. It was subsequently reported that the Dewan repudiated the implication of the statement although he admitted the truth of it. This incident puts me in mind of another incident. You will remember that some years ago there was an agitation in Travancore in respect of throwing open appointments in the Land Revenue Department also to members of communities

other than caste Hindus. The caste Hindus were advancing various arguments against this prayer, one of which was that Travancore was a theocratic Hindu State in virtue of the dedication of the State to Sri Padmanabha by our illustrious sovereign Marthanda Varma of glorious memory and that it should be ruled according to the Hindu sastras of pollution, etc. The argument was a bit amusing, but it seemed to me that the rival newspapers found it difficult to answer it. Under the circumstances I wrote what I considered a suitable reply and sent it to a newspaper without my name either in the article or in its covering letter, in which I said it was indifferent who the writer was since the article did not come within the scope of any penal law. The paper published it forthwith as an editorial.

I said in the article that dedication did not bestow upon Travancore any peculiar status. Most countries in Europe had been dedicated to Christian Saints by pious sovereigns, but none of them are governed according to the cults of the saints. Nobody can alienate by dedication anything that does not belong to him. If Maharaja Marthanda Varma alienated anything to Sri Padmanabha it must be only what belonged to him in the light of political science, viz, his rights as a sovereign in a monarchical State, and not the rights of his subjects who were not a party to the dedication. I do not say that my argument is invulnerable. But it silenced then the argument from dedication.

Modern political thought does not identify the State with any religion. We may, however, call Travancore a Hindu State in the sense that our gracious Sovereign holds the Hindu Faith and that we loyally respect His Highness's sentiments. But no political party has a right to make it a party slogan to wound the feelings of His Highness's subjects who happen to hold any different faith and we need not fear that His Highness's Government will tolerate it.

I do not know the exact terms in which the Legislative Assembly and the State Council passed their resolutions. It is very unfortunate that the Official Proceedings of our Legislature are published only after the public interest in them has subsided. A Member of the Assembly whom I asked to procure for me copies of the proceedings relevant to the subject in hand wrote to me that it would take months for them to be published. This is a matter to which Government may pay some attention. Delay in the publication of Official Proceedings may give the unscrupulous the chance of amending their speeches according to the trend of public opinion. From the fact that in the days when I was a Member of the Legislature the official edition of the Proceedings used to be out in about three days it appears that the delays now observed are avoidable.

Anyhow we may take the Government Press Communique as an authoritative publication. It does not say anything about the resolution passed in the Upper House recommending the exclusion of religious instruction from schools. The resolution passed by both

Houses recommends that "Government should make themselves responsible for primary education throughout the State". Later on the Communique says, "It does not necessarily follow that there will be no place for primary schools managed by private agencies". I fail to see then the significance of the statement in the Communique that 'Special attention must be given to the fact that the majority of Christians both in the Legislative Assembly and the Council voted for the amendment that Government should take over the management of primary education". The Christian Members may very well have voted for the resolution in the belief that the assumption of private primary schools by Government was not a necessary consequence of it and they may now logically protest against such assumption.

Government can surely make themselves responsible for primary education without assuming the private schools into its own management. The Managers of private schools can be made honorary officials subject to all official discipline. Honorary public servants are not unknown in Travancore. The managers of schools are public servants in a sense. They may also be brought under official discipline. I do not advance this suggestion as a proposal necessarily to be adopted. I only mean that ways may be found to satisfy the resolution of the Legislature without any violence to private schools.

I have seen it expressed by the Dewan that religious instruction is a very desirable thing. The only difficulty for which he has not found a solution is how, when a school gives religious instruction to pupils of its own denomination, the pupils of other denominations

attending the school should be engaged. If there is a will there is indeed a way. I can make a suggestion. It will not be impossible for us to devise a code of morals acceptable to all denominations including even atheists and rationalists. Let us have text books of such morals. When a school engages pupils of its own denomination in religious instruction the pupils of all other denominations attending the school may be engaged in moral instruction. Every denominational school must be compelled to provide facilities for moral instruction of the approved kind. Thus in a Muslim school, for example, when the Muslim pupils are receiving religious instruction, Hindu and Christian pupils attending the school will be receiving moral instruction. Either of the two classes must be made compulsory for every pupil in every school. This will do away with the difficulty of some pupils being disengaged when denominational schools are giving religious instruction to pupils of its own denomination. In departmental schools there may be only the moral class. It seems to me that this is a solution which would not wound the feelings of any religious community.

I have often heard the complaint, expressed even by the Dewan, that the managers of private schools do not pay to the teachers the whole of even the salary grant paid by Government. If this is so, I have no sympathy whatever with such managers. But it is not necessary that all private schools should be abolished because of such delinquencies of such managers. Means can surely be devised for the elimination of such conduct on the part of managers. We may even direct the Penal Code against them. If Government can see that

the establishment pay drawn by heads of offices are duly and promptly paid, they can similarly see that the salary grants drawn by managers reach their proper destination

The Communique says that "In the course of the discussion in the Legislature it was emphatically pointed out that, if Government were to assume this entire financial responsibility, it would be but logical and equitable for Government to control the appointment, promotion and conditions of service of the teachers whose full salaries they pay". If Government were a private person making a voluntary contribution for the full upkeep of an institution, a demand of the kind might be described as "logical and equitable". But in the case of a Government whose concern is to educate the people of the State and to respect the religious sentiments of the communities under its protection logic and equity may lead us to other conclusions. Government may pay the full salaries of teachers in private schools and still leave the appointment, promotion, etc., to the managers under proper rules. Government can easily see whether the rules are complied with through their inspectorial staff. There are very many posts even in the public service, the appointments to which Government know nothing about. What I mean is that the managers of schools may be regarded as heads of offices and appointments, promotions, etc., may be left to them under proper rules.

I have told you that I am not an educationist. I am not conversant with the practices obtaining in other states in respect of grants, etc. But, if I am correctly informed, much bigger salary grants are paid in British

India and the managers are expected to pay only these grants to the teachers. It is said that they are even allowed to keep a certain percentage of the salary grant for the maintenance of the schools.

The communique says that, if Christians or any other body of people want to conduct their own schools in their own way, they will be granted recognition, but will not be eligible for financial aid from Government. It cannot be supposed that, when they say that Christians and others may conduct their own schools in their own way and still gain recognition, Government mean that denominational schools can follow their own syllabus as in seminaries. It is to be presumed that these schools will have to conform to the curricula and other conditions prescribed for recognition thus assisting Government in their responsibility for primary education. Then why refuse financial aid to them? I beg to draw the attention of the authorities to another aspect of their contention: it will be an indirect way of penalising a large section of His Highness's subjects for their religious convictions.

I cannot conclude this address without a few further observation on Pope Pius XI's famous Encyclical *Divini Illius Magistri* of the 31st December 1929. Encyclicals are regarded as serious documents by even non-Catholics. They may very well be so regarded as they are based on the accumulated experience and thought of the Church for 2000 years. This experience of the Church is not confined to this country or that

country alone, but is derived from every country on the face of the Earth. She has seen kingdoms rise and sink, wars and revolutions convulse the world and has herself had bitter experience of oppression and persecution.

The Encyclical is a contribution to the philosophy of education and as such is of supreme interest to all charged with the task of education. Even a Hindu State desirous of co-ordinating education with morals may find much of value in it. The Press Communique quotes a sentence from the Encyclical out of context and comes to the conclusion "In other words the Church claims a divine right to dominate schools". This is a travesty of the Holy Father's meaning.

The sentence quoted in the Communique is: "It is the inalienable right as well as the indispensable duty of the Church to watch over the entire education of her children in all institutions, public or private, not merely in regard to the religious instruction there given but in regard to every other branch of learning and every regulation in so far as religion and morality are concerned". Let me quote another sentence from the Encyclical by the side of this: "Nor does it interfere in the least with the regulations of the State, because the Church in her motherly prudence is not unwilling that her schools and institutions for the education of the laity be in keeping with the legitimate dispositions of civil authority; she is in every way ready to co-operate with this authority and to make provision for a mutual understanding, should difficulties arise". Who wrote this passage could not have meant in the next sentence to dominate schools as against the civil authorities.

The Church can "watch over the entire education of her children in all institutions, public or private" by various conceivable means other than domination. Her children themselves may be the means of finding out what instruction they receive in the schools they attend.

When it is found by any of the conceivable means that the instruction given in a school is against morals the Church can point it out to the civil authorities. Remember that every one of us is the Church although we are not the whole Church. We know what our children learn in schools.

If the civil authorities do not give heed to the appeals of the Church, an unfortunate situation may arise. The Church will have to withdraw her children from schools where immoral instruction is imparted. Then, if primary education is made compulsory as proposed and if there be only State schools, Catholic parents will be liable to penalties. Such situations the Church has had experience of. We know that in the Elizabethan days and subsequently there were many such penal laws in England. One law made it compulsory that every citizen should attend Church on Sundays on pain of a fine. Catholic services had been suppressed with the consequence that many Catholics preferred the fine to apostasy. What was the result except that such penal laws made a period of English History most stinking?

Now I may conclude. But, before doing so, I have to remind you again that there is no occasion for excite-

ment. We may express our grievances dispassionately with cold logic and considerations of equity. We may rest assured that our gracious Sovereign will not dim the brilliance he has added to his crown by the brave and glorious Temple Entry Proclamation by any act which a large section of His Highness's loyal subjects will rightly or wrongly feel as persecution.

I conclude with the prayer:

"AUXILIUM CHRISTIANORUM, ORA PRO NOBIS".

Real Position Analysed

By

P. T. Cherian

I admit that it is very difficult to know the exact position as the Travancore Government has no definite idea or policy regarding the educational reorganisation in the State. The Educational Reorganisation Committee has recommended one thing; the State Legislature has passed another thing; the Government has adopted a third one; and the Head of the Administration is now explaining it in still another way. It is still more difficult when the Head of the Administration speaks one thing for the Vernacular Press in the State and another thing for the English Press in Madras and other places.

Existing System

The Dewan by his powerful propaganda machinery has been able to confuse the issues and to give even a false turn. Impression is gaining ground outside the State that the Christians claim a new right and that they claim financial aid for religious education. The Christians claim no such things at all. All that they demand is that the present long-standing arrangement should not be varied.

The educational policy of the Church in Travancore is much older than the State's conception that it has a duty to provide education to its subjects. Before the State undertook education the Church had a school in every parish, where instruction in secular subjects was

provided along with religious instruction for its pupils. At present out of 3052 Primary schools in the State, 2169 are conducted by Private Agencies. Of these 89 per cent being to Christians. These schools are being conducted under the rules of the Education Code in force from 1908. This Code provides for financial aid being given to the private schools and all the schools are getting grand-in-aid at present. The Christian schools are teaching all classes of pupils according to curriculum prescribed by the State.

Without prejudice to the teaching of general lesson, and without disturbing non-Christian pupils, these schools have, up till now, been giving religious instruction to *their own* Christian students. All communities were and are still satisfied with this arrangement. There has been no request from anybody for a revision of this longstanding policy.

Committee's Recommendations

The Government appointed an Educational Reorganisation Committee in 1943 consisting of 43 eminent men representing all shades of opinion in the State. (Catholics were not given adequate representation in the Committee and the All-Kerala Catholic Congress have protested against this). The Committee unanimously submitted a Report in march 1945. They recommended to the Government: "Every help and encouragement should be given to Private Managements to improve their schools to open new ones." "We are definitely of opinion that well-conducted and efficient schools should be generously aided by Government." "Government should pay the Management a grant equal to 75 per cent of the salaries."

The Report was unanimously applauded by the Press as well as by the public.

Unwarranted Resolution

Then came in July 1945, like a bolt from the blue resolutions in the State Legislature recommending to the Government "to take up the whole control and management of primary education in the State" and "that no religious instruction should be given in schools". During the debate, in reply to Mr K.C. Chandy, who championed the Catholic cause, the Dewan President said: "What this resolution says, or what the Government's idea is, that the Government will take up the management of primary compulsory education....." The Dewan-President having indicated 'the idea of the Government', the resolutions were passed in the Legislature with a majority. The funny side of it is that 13 Legislators, who were members of the Reorganisation Committee voted for the resolution in opposition to their own unanimous Report.

Up till the passing of the resolutions in the Legislature there was not even one request from the Press or from the public to the Government to assume complete control of primary schools. When the Legislature passed the resolutions the Catholic Press the All-Kerala Catholic Congress and the Catholic public in general vehemently protested against these unwarranted recommendations. And His Excellency the Bishop of Changanacherry issued the now famous Pastoral Letter No. 123. Thereupon a section of the Press began to pour out vituperations and villifications on the Church, its Ordinaries and the Christian public at large. The proprietors of three of these papers

are nominated members of the Legislature. Not only that, these papers were owned by Publishing Firms whose publications are regularly used as text books in the State by the Government. This is the sort of public support the new public has at present.

Government's Action

Then came the famous Press communique standing that "if Government accepts the recommendations of the Assembly and Council.....it does not necessarily follow that there will be no place for primary schools managed by private agencies". The All-Kerala Catholic Congress decided to submit a mass memorial to His Highness the Maharaja. On the following day the Government came out with the Gazette Extraordinary, assuming "the control and management of primary education". This Order has no relation whatsoever to the resolutions of the Legislature or to the Press communique itself. Anyhow the Catholics of Kerala observed September, 16th as an Education Day and held protest meetings in more than 500 centres.

The Dewan was forced to climb down still further as can be seen from his address at the All-Travancore Library Conference. The speech reported in the Vernacular Press of the State is a very different one from that reported in Madras papers.

The exact position of the new policy at present can be summed up as follows.

Religious Instruction

1. Religious Instruction can be given in private schools outside class hours by a person professing a particular religion to students belonging to that religion. But it will not be a compulsory part of education,

2. The Government has to remain neutral; hence no religious instruction will be allowed in State schools.

But in effect, according to the new policy, there will be no private schools and hence there can be no religious education in any of the schools in the State.

Private Schools

"Anybody or organisation is allowed to run its own schools for promoting particular religious, social or educational creeds or in pursuing specific educational programs."

2. No grant will be given to such schools even though "the Government retain the fullest discretion to give encouragement and support to any pioneering educational enterprise".

Thus private schools can be conducted only without any sort of financial aid from the Government.

Unaided Private Schools

1, Even if any body is willing to conduct private schools without grant, they will not be allowed to conduct the same in the present buildings.

2. Primary schools have to be built "on the basis of a new type-design to be selected" by the Government for the purpose.

3. Even if anybody is daring enough to run a private school in the new type-design building; Government will not allow it. For, as the Dewan-President stated in the Sri Chitra State Council, "the Government School will be located in a place, say, 50 yards of the Catholic school, and if that Catholic school with the Catholic children can subsist after the location of the Government school, by all means let it. But in all probability, I may say, it is not likely to".

What Government Decided

1. The Government has decided to assume control and management of primary schools in the whole State, and they will build school buildings on the basis of a new type-design. "They will abide by it and implement it" says the Dewan.

2, The present Private Agencies will not be given any compensation; Government will not acquire the school building and premises belonging to the present managements, even though they were built according to the present Education Code.

3. If the Private Agencies want to conduct schools they will have to build schools on the basis of the new type-design without any grant from Government, at the same time giving the educational cess which the Government will have to impose upon the people for carrying out their present policy.

Sad Plight of Christians

1. At present the majority of private schools (89 percent) are run by Christians. They had spent crores of rupees for buildings and premises these schools at

the instance of the Government. Now the design has changed and these buildings will be useless for school purposes. Thus the Christians are forced to incur a huge loss for no fault of theirs.

2. If the Christians want to run schools they will have to invest huge capital from their own pockets at present to build the new type design school buildings.

3. As was disclosed in the Sri Chitra State Council, the initial expenditure will come to more than six and a half crores of rupees, i. e. about Rs. 10.7 per capita. This means that the Christian community will have to pay at least 210 lakhs of rupees over and above the capital expenditure they will have to incur for their own schools.

4. As the Government will not give any salary grant to private schools, Christians will have to finance their own schools. In addition to that they will have to pay educational cess also. The total annual expenditure for primary education is calculated to be about Rs. 1,38,21,509. In other words every citizen has to pay a cess of Rs. 2.3. To make up this huge amount the Christian community will have to pay on an average at least 45 lakhs of rupees per year. And this is for the education of the children of other communities; and the Christians will have to pay a second tax for the education of their children in their schools. In other words the Christians are called upon to pay a sort of jazia for their religious belief.

Private Schools

The present policy of the Government will result in a huge financial loss to the Christian

community, since they alone conduct the majority of primary schools in Travancore. They will be economically ruined if they venture to follow the dictates of their religion and conduct schools of their own under the present system. Hence it will be neither possible nor economically advisable to conduct private schools. Hence there can be no religious instruction in schools in the State.

Existing System

The Christian community in the State was conducting its own schools for the last 100 years or more. The Government has been giving them financial aid as funds permitted. Religious instruction is being given in them. There has been no complaint up till now about the teaching religious instruction, religious neutrality, efficiency or the general morale of these schools. On the other hand it has been proved beyond doubt that private schools are more efficient than State schools. The Education Reorganisation Committee has recommended that "the State cannot afford to lose this valuable asset (Private Agencies)" and that "every help and encouragement should be given to private management to improve their schools and to open new ones".

To Liquidate Christianity

Facts being these, it is difficult to understand what prompted the Travancore Government to take such a *sudden and surprising* decision to do away with this 'valuable asset'. The Christians honestly fear that it, is a move to keep them under perpetual subjugation by stifling the natural growth of that community. They honestly fear, as was stated by an eminent leader of the community, that it is an "attempt to liquidate Christianity, which, they think, makes its progress through its schools and other public institutions."

THE CHRISTIAN STAND

NEW EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF TRAVANCORE GOVERNMENT

I am, indeed, grateful to have been called upon to preside over this meeting. In spite of indifferent health, I have agreed to undertake this onerous task, in consideration of the far-reaching consequences of the decision involved in the present controversy, and because of the depth of conviction I share with my fellow members of the Christian Church in the matter of religious instruction. Ever since the publication of the Government's new Primary Education Policy, the subject has been very widely discussed in the press and on the platform, within and outside Travancore. All aspects of the question have been dealt with in these discussions; yet you will find that I have something new to say on the subject.

Misconceptions Cleared

Before I proceed to offer my remarks on the subject in hand, I feel I should straightway observe that there has been a considerable amount of clouding of issues by a large number of distinguished men both inside and outside Travancore. Eminent men have rushed to the Press with statements based on inaccurate information and incorrect data,—without in the least attempting to verify the correctness of their information as to the existing conditions in Travancore. It is regrettable that they should have rushed to the arena of controversy and made pronouncements upon matters, of which they are not fully informed, and in respect of which they know there is sharp difference of opinion in this State.

Take, for instance, the statement issued to the Press by Pandit Madhan Mohan Malaviya. He says: "I have been informed that the management of more than two thousand Primary Schools of the Travancore State was for some time entrusted to Christian Missionaries and that, out of Rs. 15 lakhs spent on Primary Education in the State, about Rs. 10 lakhs per year were given to the Missionaries for maintaining those schools. This was obviously unfair to non-Christians. It is the duty of the State to undertake the education of its children itself and not to entrust this task to any private body, particularly to one of a proselytising nature. H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore and the Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer have earned the gratitude of the public by taking over the management of the Primary schools under the direct control of the State. I congratulate them on rectifying the mistake of the Travancore Durbar". But for the absolutely unfounded data with which he starts, he could not have rushed to shower encomiums on the Travancore Government for rectifying what appears to him to have been a mistake of the past. Can anything be more absurd than that! And this is but one of a fairly long series of statements from eminent Hindu gentlemen in British India.

One more instance—a very interesting one—may be quoted as a typical specimen of this species of statements. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the former President of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha, in a telegram to the Dewan of Travancore, appears to have said: "The Hindu Press and public all over India support the Travancore Maharaja and the Travancore Government and Legislature in bringing all primary schools under Government control. For years, Missions were receiving large educational subsidies from Government and utilising them in illegitimate conversion of Hindu children. Government control would leave no room for any such fanatical activities, and would bring the educational progress of the State on up-to-date lines. The Christian fanatical agitation

must be boldly met and justice vindicated." Is it not legitimate to ask which student of Travancore history was responsible for furnishing such a grossly incorrect information regarding the controversy which he does not hesitate to stigmatise as "Christian fanatical agitation?"

Wrong Inference

British Indian Journals, too, like *The Hindu* of Madras, appear to have arrayed themselves against the Christian position in this matter. On the 10th October, *The Hindu* published an editorial under the caption "Travancore Education Controversy". The contribution starts with the misconception that Primary Education is now for the first time sought to be imparted *free*. Quoting from the Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education that "any system of universal compulsory education must also be free," the paper proceeds to lay down, after a long discussion, that on the question of the enormous cost of which the scheme necessarily entails "it seems to us that it is the Government and the people whose views are reflected in the representative institutions of the State, that must be the final judge. They feel confident that they can find the money needed as well as the teaching and organising talent that a great educational spurt would call for." Why all this labour to establish that compulsory education should always be free? Is it not, one is tempted to ask, born of ignorance of the fact that, for about four decades, in Travancore, Primary education has been free? The present spurt is merely to make such education compulsory. It is recorded in the Report of the Travancore Education Expenditure Committee in 1919, that "it is to be said to the credit of our State that, while in many parts of India fees are still charged in elementary schools, in Travancore fees in such schools were completely abolished more than ten years ago"—that is, in 1903 (1084 M. E.)

The next question which that editorial raises is whether the undertaking by the Government to introduce compulsory Primary education, necessarily involves the elimination of all private agencies. Extracting from the Sadler Commission Report, the view expressed therein; that "education is not wholly a matter of public concern; it lies across the boundary which divides public functions from private initiative. It is too important a factor in national life for the State to abrogate its responsibilities in regard to it. But at the same time it is too intimately connected with family life and with private conviction to be entrusted to Governmental management alone. Therefore, it is desirable to seek for some new synthesis between State supervision and private effort especially in the sphere of secondary and higher education," the article proceeds to establish that "it would be difficult to sustain the plea that private enterprise has an indispensable role to play in it. In the first place, the extract does not sustain the inference; in fact, it knocks the bottom of the finding recorded by this eminent journal. The Sadler Commission has expressed the view that private enterprise *has* an indispensable role, and the journal wants the contrary to be understood on the basis of that extract! The same Commission remarks elsewhere in their Report: "The despatch of 1854 was, in its main conceptions, a bold, far-seeing and statesmanlike document. It imposed upon the Government of India the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education, from the primary school to the university; perhaps its most notable feature was the emphasis which it laid upon elementary education, hitherto disregarded by Government. . . . In the belief that Governmental activity alone could never suffice to create such a system as it contemplated, it broke away definitely from the practice followed since 1835, whereby most of the available public funds had been expended upon a few Government schools and colleges, and instituted a systematic policy of grants-in-aid to be distributed by the Department of Public Instruction to all institutions which

should reach an approved standard. It looked forward to a time when any general system of education provided by Government might be discontinued." In this connection it is pertinent to observe that the Travancore Government have not declared against the continuance of all private agencies in the field of primary education.

Proceeding to extract from the Government Communique dated 31st August 1945, *The Hindu* next tackles the question of religious instruction in primary schools. Starting with the caution that they should "not be understood to undervalue the religious element in education or to support the view that a purely materialistic education will satisfy the deepest human needs or assist in the flowering of the human personality," it proceeds to convince its readers that "so far as the Travancore Government are concerned, . . . no alteration is contemplated in the present position regarding religious education." Evidently, this Journal, though it quotes from the Communique under immediate reference, does not seem to know what the present position is or what change is contemplated. The extract made by it from that document distinctly says: "Religious education never formed part of the regular curriculum in schools, but is allowed to be imparted in school buildings by all denominations to their own adherents outside school hours." Proceeding, the article says: "While thus continuing to make available the existing facilities for religious education the Government stated further that "they retain the fullest discretion to give such encouragement and support to any pioneering educational enterprise as may give useful instruction ancillary to or supplementary to the Government curriculum. In other words, private enterprise will still have a useful and influential, if numerically speaking restricted, role to play in primary education." How strange that having given a false quietus to their conviction that religious instruction has a definite place in education, and that the Travancore Government do not contemplate any departure from the present

position of permitting the imparting of religious instruction to children of particular denominations outside school hours, they should find solace in the promise that pioneering educational enterprise will receive governmental encouragement! It is to be regretted that this Journal has not realised the obvious fact that existing private primary schools cannot, and will not, under any conditions, be deemed "pioneering educational enterprise". Evidently the paper has forgotten that the controversy has nothing to do with such enterprise or their right to exist side by side with primary institutions in the scheme of compulsory primary education.

United Demand

The esteemed daily observes again that "the current controversy centres largely round the declaration of the Travancore Government that they will not hereafter give any grant to primary schools run specially or primarily for the purpose of imparting specific types of religious education". Until I read this illuminating clarification from Madras, I never knew that this was the matter at issue. How strange that I, a Travancorean living in Travancore and directly conversant with this controversy, should have waited for this exposition to realise what the question at issue is. It looks as if this exponent of the Government policy has not yet realised that, while different Christian denominations have been for centuries conducting institutions "for the purpose of imparting specific types of religious education" such as Theological Colleges and Schools and religious training institutions, they have not so far prayed for any grant to such institutions, and Christian denominations in Travancore do not seek any financial aid for any such institutions. In this connection it may be noted that at present there are no *primary* schools which are run for this purpose. The controversy really ranges round the declaration by the Travancore Government that "they cannot be expected to subsidize directly or indirectly, the

imparting of religious education to one portion of the pupils in any school. It is surprising that *The Hindu* should have failed to notice that the real issue is this, in spite of the large space it had already allowed to this controversy.

The article next proceeds to argue a case of duplication of cost involved in giving grants to existing schools under private management,—a matter absolutely irrelevant to the question at issue. On that basis the paper observes that it seems to it: "that the Catholics of Travancore. . . will be well advised not to carry on an agitation, for which it will be difficult to secure the sympathy of detached and impartial men anywhere, and persistence in which may lead to an undesirable intensification of differences and antagonisms which men of good will must deplore". Probably this paper has not been following the course of this controversy in British Indian cities, or thinks that all who have protested against this educational spurt of Travancore are neither detached nor impartial. As one follows the expression of opinion by so-called "detached and impartial men" and Journals in British India, one loses faith in one's own capacity to make them realise the position taken up by Christians in Travancore and elsewhere. They ought to have realised by this time that all Christian denominations in Travancore have unambiguously declared their agreement in the matter. This is a meeting convened in the metropolis of the State by responsible men, representative of every denomination of Christians. The purpose of this meeting is to protest against the educational policy envisaged in the Government Proceedings, dated 12th of September, 1945. "Detached and impartial men" outside as well as inside the State may now at least realise that *this agitation is one in which Christians of all denominations stand together.*

At this stage let me reply to another charge that has been made against us. It has been stated that the

Christians are against the scheme of free and compulsory primary education and that they want to have their schools maintained from public funds in order to carry on religious instruction to their children! These charges are utterly unfounded. The Christians *do* hail this momentous reform with profound satisfaction. For well nigh a century it has been their aim and effort to diffuse primary education as widely as possible, and, in fact, it is no exaggeration to state that they have contributed largely to the unrivalled position which the State now occupies in India in the matter of general literacy. The present declaration of Government is but the fulfilment of their aspirations and efforts, and I can boldly declare, without fear of contradiction, that they hail this reform with unanimous acclamation. Their grievance is only in respect of the manner in which the compulsory education scheme is proposed to be carried out.

Grant-in-Aid System

Before I proceed to explain the Christian position today, it will be of interest to trace the history of the grant-in-aid system in respect of Vernacular education in the State. In doing so, I might with profit reproduce a few paragraphs from the Report of the Education Expenditure Committee. It says:

"The system of giving grants-in-aid to private schools was first adopted by the Government in 1868 (1044) with the object of encouraging the educational efforts of Missionary Societies in Travancore. Grants were then restricted to schools at the Capital, but the system was subsequently extended to the moffusil schools. At first, grants were given only to the Mission Schools; but in 1875 (1051) they were declared open to all schools, under whatever management, which taught Vernacular to a certain standard and which showed an attendance of not less than 25 pupils. The offer of grants-in-aid, besides bringing

under departmental inspection and control an increasing number of private schools, also gave a keen impetus to the progress of education."

The principle of extending Vernacular education by grants-in-aid rather than by the direct agency of Government was clearly affirmed by Dewan V. Rama Iyengar in his Administration Report of 1057 (1881). He said as follows:

"The total number of boys and girls brought under instruction by the existing agencies for Vernacular education is only 35,373 or a little over 6 per cent of children of school-going age. This fact shows how much remains to be done in the matter of elementary education of the general population. Already about Rs. 80,000 are expended for this purpose by the State. Of course, this will need to be largely supplemented, if steady progress is to be maintained in the future. But it seems desirable that all future expenditure should be directed rather to encouraging local efforts than to opening of new Government schools. In this way the available funds can be made to go much further than if they were spent in founding more Sirkar Schools, and some of that spirit of self-help now so much wanting in the country will be evoked".

But with the inauguration of the Education Code in 1908 a new policy of developing education as far as possible by direct departmental agency was adopted. The result was soon apparent. The number of Government institutions rose from 468 to 1020 in 1909 (1915); the number of private institutions, aided and unaided, recognized and unrecognized, fell from 3237 to 1016. However, the large progressive increase in expenditure from 1086 M. E. onwards of about Rs. 2½ lakhs every year, obliged Government to call a halt in their policy of direct departmental activity, and the old policy of promoting

education by encouraging private effort was restored. In his Administration Report of 1091 (1916) the Director of Public Instruction stated as follows:

"The former policy of Government in establishing its own schools all over the country is believed to have produced the result which was intended to achieve, that is, it has brought home to the people of the country the advantages to be gained by educating their children and has stimulated in them a desire to do so. It is hoped that the desire has now grown so strong as to go far towards providing the means of educating their children, and the large number of private elementary schools open towards the close of the year shows that they are willing to do so. It is hoped that the effect of this policy will be to bring all the children in the State under education."

It is noteworthy that as early as three decades ago the Government had thus recognised the advantage, nay, the necessity, of enlisting private effort for achieving universal primary education in the State. And with reference to the future policy regarding private effort in the field of Vernacular education, the Education Expenditure Committee made the following observations:

"We shall now consider the question as to what the future attitude of Government to private enterprise should be. In the first place, we think that the Government are bound to acknowledge the philanthropic efforts of the various Missionary and other organisations to educate the people of the country. In determining the future attitude of Government towards the private efforts we have to take into consideration the claims of these organisations to recognition and sympathetic treatment. Secondly, our historical review has shown that, given free scope and liberal encouragement, private effort in education is capable of taking a satisfactory share in the development of education in the country. The pre-eminent position

that private efforts occupy in the educational system of the State is a strong proof of its abundant vitality so that the most prudent and advantageous course for the Government to follow would be to extend its scope and enlist its co-operation further. A third reason why private effort should be encouraged is that it would foster a spirit of self-reliance and co-operation and combination among the people which is, by no means, an unimportant factor in the national well-being."

People's Contribution

The contribution made by the people towards the spread of Vernacular education and the investment made by the Government in that behalf is dealt with in another part of the same Report thus:—

"One very gratifying feature about the progress of education in recent years has been the remarkable readiness and enthusiasm with which *the people of the country have come forward to provide sites and buildings for schools*. In 1911 (1087) the Government laid down that the policy to be pursued in opening new departmental Lower Grade Vernacular Schools was that the building for their accomodation should be put up by the people of the locality for whose benefit the schools were started, with the help of a contribution from Government equal to one half of the cost but not exceeding Rs. 500 in each case. This policy was steadily pursued by the department so much so that it was reported by the Director of Public Instruction in his Administration Report for 1915 (1090) that the Department had up to that obtained from the people *school sites and buildings roughly estimated to cost three lakhs of rupees; in addition to about 50 acres of ground transferred to Government by the people as school sites*. After 1090 also the same policy was being systematically followed." (Italics mine)

In respect of Boy's Vernacular Schools, it is therein given that the Department had after 1090 *obtained from the people 17,443 acres valued at Rs. 142,528, and buildings valued at Rs 817,957, the total being Rs. 969,485 and the amount of Government contribution in respect of them being Rs. 61,384.* The foregoing figures show, the Report, continues, that *Government have contributed only a very insignificant share of the expenditure incurred for the construction of Vernacular school buildings.** It is evident from this that the people of the State are so keenly alive to the advantages of education that they can be safely relied on to co-operate with the Government for its provision and extension. The Department should, therefore, "continue to follow its present policy of enlisting public co-operation for the putting up of school buildings." Today, it is estimated that, while there are 883 Departmental schools, there are 2169 private schools in the State. I presume it is the history of the growth of the Vernacular education in the State that made the Education Reorganisation Committee (1945) observe that in this sphere "a very considerable and worthy contribution" has been made by private agencies and that *the State cannot afford to lose sight of this valuable asset.*" (Italics mine)

Christian Position Explained

Now let me explain the Christian position in regard to the present controversy. Christian Managements have to this day been imparting in their schools religious instruction only to the children of their respective denominations. Christians have not imparted, nor claimed the right to impart, religious education to non-Christian children. Moreover, in Christian institutions, religious instruction is imparted *only outside school hours.* Chris-

* Contrast the impression produced by Pandit Malaviya's statement and these facts and figures from Government records,

tians do not seek the inclusion of religious education in the regular curriculum prescribed by Government for all schools. But they do claim the right to impart religious instruction *to their children, in their schools, through their teachers, outside school hours.* They do claim as citizens of the State also the right to co-operate with the Government in the discharge of the State's educational responsibilities. They do claim that Government, when it embarks on the policy of compulsory education, is under a duty to pay for the education of every child in the State.

I wish to make it clear at this point that we are *not begging for grant or a gift.* If, in implementing the scheme of free compulsory universal primary education, Government is called upon to spend, say, ten rupees on every child, we claim that we should be paid at the same rate for every child to whom we impart the same education of the type and standard as the schools directly run by Government. It is too late for Government to go back on its recognition of the legitimate role of private agencies in the sphere of education. Having recognised that, common fairness demands that these agencies should be re-imbursed at the same rate as it costs Government to educate a child, between the ages 5 and 10, because essentially we are co-workers with the Government in this matter. Government accepts that their's is the responsibility to have every child educated. Take it that we are discharging part of that responsibility; and why should we not be paid for this service at the rate which it costs Government, and in proportion to our service?

Why, one may ask, should these Christian agencies persist in co-operating with Government? The answer is clear and simple. In the first place, we are convinced that it is the right thing to do. Inspired with the consciousness that, by the spread of light, it is the fundamental duty of the Christian to dispel the darkness of ignorance and superstition, Christianity has been for the

past nineteen centuries exerting its utmost in every country, including ours. Who can challenge the statement that "the educational history of Travancore prior to the year 1834 is mainly a record of the work of Christian Missions". In the second place, we do want to train up our children as good Christians, filled with the living spirit of Christ. That training could be administered only in a Christian atmosphere.

Christian Atmosphere

"Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it". We believe in this admonition by King Solomon. The Christian Church has, for the past nineteen centuries, maintained the position that it is its inescapable duty, consistent with its Christian profession, to impart education and that in a Christian atmosphere. The brilliant record of its achievement in the educational sphere in the centuries gone by, emboldens me to observe that the Church shall continue to the end of time to bring up her children in a Christian atmosphere. Christianity does not believe in keeping its faith hid under a bushel or within closed doors, but stands for the permeation of the Christian spirit in all activities of a Christian's life. The child at home, the child at school, the youth in college, the man in different walks of life—all are equally expected to be Christian throughout in his outlook. For, believes the Church: "A faith without works is dead".

The question at issue in this controversy is simple: Are Christian institutions to be penalised for *imparting religious education to their children out of school hours in addition to secular education* equal in character and scope to that imparted in Government schools? Government, in their Press Communique, dated 28th September, 1943, stated that "Government are also quite convinced that a system of religious education imparted in the right atmosphere and environment and

at the proper time would be beneficial, if practicable, especially in view of the profound psychological and moral changes which are taking place in the world today and the mental disequilibrium produced in consequence." The Communique proceeds: "The solution is very simple, namely, that religious instruction in the principles of the Catholic religion should be imparted to Catholic students separately and so as not to interfere with the school work". Further on, the Communique states that "it will also be observed that whatever may have been the position in the past, there is a growing consciousness of the importance of religious instruction in India today." This Communique was reproduced in *The Travancore Information*, from where I have extracted these statements. It was published under the caption "Religious Instruction in Schools," and the preamble makes clear that it was issued in reply to representations made by "Ecclesiastical dignitaries and Managers of schools" and a series of articles on Catholic education which appeared in some of the newspapers of the State. In issuing this Communique, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja should be deemed to have been placing on record their view relating to the place of religious instruction in schools. This was in September 1943.

I should, while at this point, also refer you to what Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said in inaugurating the religious classes at the Sri Chitra Central Hindu Religious Library, Trivandrum, on the 13th of June, 1943. He said: "What religious books can teach is only to supplement that attitude, that outlook, that atmosphere, that background, that can come only with personal instruction and contact between human mind and human mind." Those who would like to appreciate the Christian stand in the present controversy have only to put these ideas together. We claim the right to impart Christian religious instruction in our schools which take care to maintain a Christian atmosphere, and that education, according to us, has of necessity to be imparted by Chris-

tian teachers. The Travancore Government, the present Dewan, and we were all agreed on this fundamental question in 1943.

In September 1945, the Government, in their Communique, laid down that primary schools run by Christian denominations will not be entitled to grant; if they continue to impart religious instruction. To reproduce the very sentence, "In the nature of things, Government cannot be expected to subsidise directly or indirectly, the imparting of religious education to one portion of the pupils in any school." Primary schools run by Christian agencies have, all along, been admitting on their rolls children of all creeds. They have been imparting religious education to Christian children alone and that outside school hours. These schools have been receiving grants-in-aid from the State Exchequer. In the nature of things, to continue grants to Christian schools would, in the opinion of the Government, as in 1945, amount to subsidising indirectly, if not directly, the imparting of religious education "to one portion of the pupils in any school." These schools are forbidden to impart religious education to children outside their particular denomination. Let us not be understood as now claiming the privilege of educating every child in the *Christian* religion.

Religious Instruction.

Thus it turns out that our schools could impart religious instruction to one portion of the pupils. Grants, we are told, may not be given to schools which impart religious education only to one portion of the pupils in that school. "Here," to quote the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, "lies the crux." In September, 1943, the Government said: "the solution is very simple, namely that religious instruction in the principles of the Catholic religion should be imparted to Catholic students separately and so as not to interfere with the school work." Be it noted

that this solution is not new. It has been found out by educational authorities and the people of Travancore decades back. It may be asserted without fear of contradiction that Christians have scrupulously respected the Conscience Clause in the Education Code. Still, old or new, this was the Government's suggestion in 1943, two months before constituting the Travancore Education Reorganisation Committee. Today, we are told that our schools are to forfeit the right to obtain grants-in-aid in spite of our scrupulously respecting the Conscience Clause.

While at the question of religious education, I should invite your attention to certain circumstances. However distasteful this subject may be to progressive Indian thinkers like the Rt. Hon. Sastri, the Travancore Government and no less eminent a person than Sachivathamam Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar were absolutely convinced in 1943 of the need of religious education. The Education Reorganisation Committee consisted of 43 Members, of whom 15 were Government servants, besides the retired Diwan Peishkar, Mahakavi Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar, the Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, and Mr. R. Parameswaran Pillai, retired Divisional Inspector of Schools. One member of the Committee was Rajyasevanirata S. Chattanathakarayalar, Deputy President of the Sri Mulam Assembly and another Mr. M. Govindan a retired Judge. Thus the Government stood well entrenched in that Committee.

Again, viewing in another light, that Committee had, on it, 25 Hindus, 16 Christians and 2 Muslims. That body, after a deliberation extending over seventeen months, recorded their considered view on the question of religious education at page 116 of their Report. "The Committee fully realises that religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education and that the absence of properly organised religious instruction as a part of every one's schooling leads to deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good". This Report was signed in March 1945. Thus we find that whatever eminent persons in British India

might say, we were all convinced of the need and place in a scheme of education for religious instruction till March 1945. The conversion to a different view appears to have been sudden, and it occurred at the meeting of the Legislative Assembly held in August last, when a resolution was moved by an Honourable Member to the effect that religious instruction should be forbidden in schools altogether. It is significant that, in voting on this resolution, even many of the signatories of the Report, who were also Members of the Legislature, supported it, contrary to their express statement in the Report.

In the Communique issued on the 31st August 1945, Government appears to have been of opinion that in this matter "the Legislature has recommended no alteration in the present long-standing rule and practice," this rule and practice being that of imparting religious instruction to the children of particular Christian denominations outside school hours. But, on the 12th of September—less than two weeks after the above Communique—Government expressed in their proceedings the decision which has given rise to the present controversy. If, as they understood the intention of the Legislature aright, no alteration in the present long-standing rule and practice was recommended, then, one may pertinently ask: What made the Government alter their view expressed in 1943, and that, in the teeth of the unanimous recommendation made by the Travancore Education Reorganisation Committee on the 22nd March, 1945, and the view of the Legislature as pointed out in the Communique dated 31st August, 1945? This is the baffling circumstance in this controversy.

The Act to provide for compulsory primary education definitely provides that no religious instruction shall be imparted during school hours in any approved primary school. The Act has given a quietus to the controversy, if any existed at all—and I daresay, none did—in regard to the right to impart religious instruction during school hours. The only question which called for decision from

the very start—and which still awaits determination—is the right of private schools to obtain grants. It is for this that the Christian denominations have been contending all along—a right which they have enjoyed for over half a century.

In this connection it is helpful to note that, in advanced countries like England, not only do the voluntary schools get full salary grants, but the State contributes also towards the expenses of buildings and equipment. Under the new Education Act of England, financial assistance to the extent of 50 per cent is given from the State Exchequer towards the cost of alterations, improvements and external repairs of buildings. From the above facts, it is evident that our demand for grants is nothing but legitimate and moderate and that its denial amounts in effect to a *denial of the religious rights of the Christian minority community in Travancore.*

The speeches of eminent men in Travancore, the statements of distinguished Hindu gentlemen in British India, and newspapers inside and outside the State, have often times betrayed a longing to raise the bogey of proselytisation in Christian schools. I do recall, a Hindu spokesman pointing to a sentence in a Press Statement issued by about sixteen Christians interested in Youth Movement, including me. The sentence is "That their institutions, be they primary or middle or high schools or colleges, have always striven, and will continue to strive, for imparting cultural education in a definitely Christian atmosphere, is admitted". In this admission, the said gentleman finds the argument which, according to him, bears out his statement about the proselytising nature of Christian institutions. That in a Christian institution, a Christian atmosphere is bound to prevail, is certain. But to say that it lends support to a charge of proselytisation is *ex facis* untenable and illogical. Let me ask whether in a theosophical institution, a theosophical atmosphere will not prevail? Does not a peculiar atmosphere which may be characterised as Sanatanic prevail in the Sanatana institutions? Is it not the avowed object

of the Aligarh University to promote Muslim culture. Does not the Hindu University at Benares work in a Hindu atmosphere, and do not these institutions get liberal grants from public funds? Is it not the aim of the promoters of the new Hindu College at Changana-cherry to create and maintain in that institution a Hindu atmosphere? Can a Christian cease to be such for that part of the day when he functions as a school master? Whether he teaches the Bible or not, can he act so as to belie his Christian profession during six hours out of the twenty-four? It is not reasonable to expect him to do that.

Conclusion

The conclusions, therefore, are that all civilised Governments stand committed to an educational policy which definitely provides for private agencies in the sphere of education; to a policy of encouraging by liberal grants-in-aid the institutions run by private agencies; to a policy which encourages the imparting of religious instruction in their schemes of education. Let us hope that Travancore Government conform to the example of these Governments and redress our legitimate grievances in the matter.

Let me conclude my speech with an appeal to this audience and, through them, to the Christian General Public. One extremely regrettable feature of this controversy has been the rousing of communal passion. Some newspapers have been indulging in reckless writing, and a certain section of the Hindus has been saying that the agitation is artificial, got up by the Roman Catholics and is a product of religious fanaticism. Let me request you not to be moved by these misrepresentations and reproaches. Whatever be the nature of the attacks on the Christians it is their duty to remain calm and show a spirit of dignity and charity. In accordance with the behest of Our Lord and Master, we should not retaliate, but should overcome evil with good.

The Rights of Parents

Stirring Address of His Grace Archbishop Mathias

The Church of Christ is essentially a teaching organization for She has received a Divine Mandate from Her Founder: "Go therefore, teach ye all nations, . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Her aim is to save souls and for that She must instruct them. She must teach the nations, the children in particular, all those truths which are necessary to salvation. This is a right, let us say a Divine Right, and a duty. It is then from Her constitution itself that the Church has the right to teach and the right to have Her own schools. All those truths which by their nature are not spiritual and moral but purely profane as pure science economics or politics, etc; are not directly of Her domain. They will however be subject to Her vigilance and care if Her children and especially the youth cannot learn them without incurring great danger to their Faith and Morals. In the field of doctrine and morals, the Church, by divine right, has the first and the last word.

One Thing Necessary in Education

Religion is the supreme co-ordinating principle in education as it is in life. If the profane science or the secular branches of knowledge are taught without reference to Religion, the Church feels that the one thing necessary, is excluded and that this is an educational mistake which is the cause of detriment to education itself. "Every

form of pedagogic naturalism says Pius XI, "which in any way excludes or weakens the supernatural Christian formation in the teaching of youth, is false". The pure instruction of the mind without the education of the heart through Religion is pedagogical error which leads to disastrous consequences of which we had sufficient proofs in the Nazified schools of Hitler. Among Criminals, we may say to-day war criminals, we find learned men, who have received instruction, but their learning, their science has been an instrument for crime. They were not educated. Instruction is not education in its entirety, may sometimes it is the enemy of education when the heart is corrupted.

Don Bosco, that great Pedagogist and Saint, whom I revere my founder and Father, wrote: "Woe to the child if one thinks of nothing but developing its power to acquire knowledge and its sensibility, and neglects the development of the chief human power the only source of pure and true love, the will.... There has been an attempt to form a human being but the sad result has only been an intelligent, refined, but weak and uureasonable creaturea highly developed animal."

The Establishment of Schools

The Church, for the sake of her children, like a loving mother, for no other reason than to protect their souls, whenever there is a positive and immediate danger of loss of faith, She speaks, She protests, She acts and when ever Religion is left out of the regular curriculum, She tries to supply that defect. She wants to be sure that the youth, that elect portion of hers, will not run the risk of perversion, and for that She establishes schools under Her own

control to educate her children in the ways of God. That is why it was necessary, as Pius XI says, to create that social institution, the school which owes its existence to the initiative of the family and of the Church, long before it was undertaken by the State. From the early days of her existence the Church established schools which have been one of the causes of that progress and civilization for which Europe can be proud. Those schools from the vicissitudes of historical developments or from the particular circumstances of the foundation, scope or maintenance are still known as catechetical, monastic, cathedral, chantry, guild, parochial schools, etc. Experience has shown that, not only in religious training but also in profane matters, those schools have been and are a credit to the countries where they have been established. Our Catholic institutions, says Pius XI, whatever their grade may be in the educational and scientific world have no need of apology.

If the profane and classical works of Rome and Greece are still to be found and studied it is due to the Church, for their preservation is due to those monastic schools established by the Church. A great number of the well-reputed schools to-day in the hands of the State owe to the Church their existence and are indebted to Her for their endowments. But alas! many of these very chairs were once true and pure learning was given, are now the centres of error and the place where poisonous doctrines are taught against the very Church to whom they owe their foundation.

The Enemies of The Church

The protection and the defence of the rights of the Church have been the cause of struggles in the course of centuries. The enemies of the Church know well, and understand it very well too, that Catholic schools are the most effective means to preserve the Catholic Faith and hence all their bitterness is turned against the divine right of the Church which they deny or despise and they put all their energy whenever they are in power, to see that no help whatsoever or grant be given to Catholic schools so that these may disappear and with them the Church they hate. They forget the words of Christ Who has promised His assistance to His Church up to the end of the world. History shows us how all those adversaries have passed away and gone and this year not a few of the strong and proud ones have disappeared on a sudden to the relief of humanity. But the Church, like Christ, is yesterday, to-day, for ever and the gates of hell shall not prevail. Twenty centuries of experience are our hope and our assurance

The Right to Establish Schools

According to Canon 1375 the Church has the right to establish schools of every kind, not only elementary, but also secondary and higher schools that is colleges and universities. This does not mean that the Church claims the exclusive, right of establishing schools. She will claim that exclusive right only for the education of her clergy in her seminaries.

When the Code claims for the Church the right to establish schools, it bases its argument on the fact we have

already brought up in the beginning, that is: The end of the Church is the salvation of her children through Christian education and the means left to her by her diyen Founder. Schools are the universal and ordinary means of conveying a Christian education consequently the Church has the right of establishing and conducting schools.

Victor Hugo the French poet and writer, said: "To open a school is to close a jail" I do not know how far this is true for schools opened by the State, but it is certainly true when a school is opened by the Church, for She teaches her children not only the fear of men but the fear of God and that is the beginning of wisdom. Hence, another thinker and pedagogist has well said: "The school' if not a temple. is a den"

Religious Education

Expressing Her will in the Code of Canon Law the Church says in Canon 1372 that the education of all Catholics from their childhood must be such that not only shall they be taught nothing contrary to the Catholic Faith and good Morals, but Religious and Moral training shall occupy the principal place in the curriculum. Not only the parents, adds the Canon but in addition all those who take their place have the right and the most serious obligation of providing for the Christian education of the children.

This Canon is the embodiment of many solemn documents of the Holy See issued especially against the new tendencies of radicalism in the last century and it is

the fruit of experience of centuries. All know, and nobody better than the Church, that youth in its tender age is most susceptible to turn towards evil as towards good and to be influenced by vice or virtue according to the education it has received.

It is easy to see the difference between those who have been brought up in the surroundings of religion, in an atmosphere of faith and piety and those who belong to families where religion counts for little or nothing. That is why the Church insists. Good education must be given to the children and good education means for us religious education. The Protestant Leibnitz wrote: "Mankind would be reformed if the education of youth were reformed." The good of the society depends from the education of youth and to be good the education of youth must be religious. Mr. Winston Churchill broadcasting to the people of England in March 1943, said: "Religion has been a mark in the life and character of British people upon which they built their hopes and cast their cares. This fundamental element must never be taken from our schools."

The General Conviction

To show that not only the Catholic Church, but even States and in our case Native States, think of the importance and necessity of religious instruction in schools, I shall quote what the "Report of the Travancore Education Re-organization Committee" says Chapter X. No. II under the title "IV Religious Instruction".

"The Committee fully realizes that religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education, and that the absence of properly organised religious instruction as a part of every one's schooling leads to deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good. We feel, however that this very important problem may more profitably be dealt with by a body specially constituted for the purpose."

Let me give another instance. In the introduction of the Report by the Central Advisory Board of Education in India published in January 1944, we find: "The importance which the Board attaches at all stages of education to the training of the character has already been stressed. There will probably be general agreement that religion in the widest sense should inspire all education and that a curriculum devoid of an ethical basis will prove barren in the end. The Board certainly envisage that private schools conducted by denominational and other bodies will have their appropriate place in a national system provided that so far as secular instruction is concerned, they comply with the conditions and reach the standards prescribed in the case of State Schools. It will be for the responsible authorities to consider the more difficult question of the facilities which could or should be provided for those children in State Schools whose parents desire them to receive dogmatic religious education. At the same time the Board feel that it may be useful to lay down certain general principles for guidance as to the best way in which the whole question of religious education should be approached and they have accordingly appointed a special committee for this purpose

The Rights of the Parents and the State

The same canon I have just quoted speaks of the inviolable and inalienable right, as well as of the solemn duty of parents and guardians to whom the children belong primarily, to provide for a Christian education. The natural and proper right of the parents is based on the fact that they are the makers of the children by the very fact of procreation, which gives them the right and the duty to feed and clothe their children and also to educate them physically, intellectually and morally. This is part of the purpose and aim of the family as an institution.

It follows as a natural and logical consequences that parents themselves or through others must provide not only for the material preservation of children but they must see that their children are educated by giving them moral and religious training and keeping them always away from persons and things that might be dangerous to faith and morals.

The State has no right, no power to usurp that privilege of the parents lest it revolutionise nature and introduce the totalitarian methods and those false philosophies against which we have fought and which have been the ruin of nations in Europe.

The State is for the family. It is only when the parents neglect their duty and do not care for the education of their children that the State takes it up in the common interest, for the State must help the family. The State must respect the will of parents who must be free

to choose the school they like for their children. The child belongs to the family and not to the State. "The paternal authority" wrote Leo XIII, "cannot be abolished or absorbed by the State; it has its source, where life gets its own. Children are some thing of their father they are so to say an extension of his person", and the State cannot substitute itself to that personality. It must respect the wish, the choice of the parents who are free to send their children to the schools they prefer. For that they must have a choice and not be imposed upon with one standard State School which might not correspond to their wishes.

The right conferred on the civil society is only in virtue of the authority it possesses to promote the common temporal welfare, which is precisely the purpose of its existence.

It is the right to be more correct it is the duty of the State to protect in its legislature the prior rights of the family as regards the Christian education of its offspring and to respect the supernatural rights of the Church in this same realm of Christian education. (Pius XI). It belongs also to the State to protect the rights of the child when parents are found wanting either physically or morally in this interest. (Pius XI). The State should supply for the deficiency but not substitute itself to the family. It must not reverse the order of nature and make the family subservient to and a tool in the hands of the State.

Radicalism, the evil creation of the last century, proposes to take the schools away from the influence of the Church and so to be still more

free in its policy of anti-clericalism. It should have opened its eyes for it has never received a bigger and stronger blow than in the last two world wars. Unfortunately the enemies of Christian education have eyes but see not.

Rationalism and materialism are blind when confronted with spiritual and moral forces, the strength and splendour of which are too bright for senile eyes.

Fundamental Principles

The fundamental principles of the Catholic Church in matter of religious education are.

1. The Church has the exclusive right of teaching religion to Catholic children. If the State or parents want to exercise that right, it must be with the consent and under the supervision and control of the Ecclesiastical authorities.
2. The Church cannot approve schools which exclude religion from the curriculum. This is clear for the fact that religion is the most important subject in education. Secular education is incomplete and void if there is no religious teaching, religion being the central, vitalizing and co-ordinating factor in the life of the child.
3. If the Church tolerates, in some special circumstances, schools in which religion is not taught when She permits the children to attend them, She insists that precautions are taken so that religious instruction be given to the children in other ways.

State monopoly of education is a tyrannical usurpation. It overrides the right of the parents, denies the Church, Her right to open and maintain schools; places religion below worldly considerations and creates a wrong public opinion as far as the rights of the Church and of the family are concerned

The Interest of the State

Before speaking of the duty of the State to help and support such schools I wish to say that it is in the interest of the State itself to encourage such schools. Centralisation of all the services in the hands of the State is a danger. The state must not suppress and replace private initiative; on the contrary it must stimulate them and possibly complete them.

In matter of education the State cannot and must not do all but it must be glad to have the co-operation of a society which has twenty centuries of experience and the backing of a Church which has for Her doctrine the teaching of loyalty, fidelity, submission and obedience to the legitimate authorities. To pretend that such institutions will breed disloyalty and disturb the peace of the citizens, by rivalry or other similar reasons is absurd. The teaching of the Church of love and submission should dispel such misgivings. "In agitating for Catholic schools for their children, Catholics are not mixing in party politics, but are engaged in a religious enterprise demanded by conscience". "A good Catholic, precisely because of his Catholic principles, makes the better citizen," (Pius XI).

The establishment of such schools frees the State of a greater financial burden, for if the State gives grants, the institution provides much more. To have only State schools does not bring any stimulant or emulation as it is the case when schools are run by the State as well as by private concerns.

Justice

If such are the benefits received by the State, this should even financially help the schools established by the Church in a country.

Distributive justice requires that the State which imposes taxes on all people in the State, allots also to the Catholic Schools a proportionate amount. For, as tax payers, Catholics have a right that part of those taxes be used for their schools as they are used for other schools. The Church recognises the right of the State to levy taxes for schools but She expects justice.

Claims of the State

We would not be fair if we did not say what the State may justly claim.

1. It is the right and the duty of the State to establish schools when private citizens or other agencies neglect to do so;
2. In all schools whether established by the Church or the State or other agencies, it is the duty of the State to see that social and civic relations and good order are not disturbed or subverted.

3. The State should also repress and punish rebellions, disturbances and dangerous machinations, in the name of good and general public.

4. We may add that the State may impose compulsory education but not compulsory schooling. Compulsion however on the part of the State is not a primary and pre dominant right and it must be justified by consideration of public good.

Our Protest

We are called intransigent. We are not. We are only coherent to principles. The Church cannot compromise as the States can do. She has principles. I do not wish to say that the States have not. They have some. It is due to these principles which we consider as rights that we fight for justice and that to-day we protest.

In 1850 when the Catholics of France were fighting for the liberty of their schools, their leader was that great Christian, Montalembert. After all his fights and triumphs he said one day; "We did win but through fight; if, however, we did not go further and we did get more, it is because we did not fight enough".

For the right of the Church, for our schools, we must contend and we shall contend to the bitterest end till we get our rights, and win.

Address of His Grace the Archbishop of Delhi-Simla

We are here this evening in union of spirit with our fellow Catholics of Travancore, who are faced with the situation which strikes at the fundamental rights of parents and of the Catholic Church. The Government of Travancore are about to assume the management of all Primary Schools and to secularise the education of youth. A commission was set up early last year to consider the reorganisation of education within the State. The committee thus established expresses its opinion that, "The teaching of religion is an essential and integral part of education and that the absence of properly-organised religious instruction as a part of everyone's schooling leads to deficiencies in personality and character, which cannot afterwards be made good". That was in March last year and yet in July a resolution was passed in the Assembly recommending to the State to assume complete control of all primary education and a Government Press communique informs us that no religion will be taught in these schools. Further the Bishop of Changanacherry published a Pastoral criticising the resolution and calling on the Faithful of his Flock to pray that it may not be put into effect. The Secretary of the Government called on the Bishop to withdraw his Pastoral and to express open regret for having published it, within a fortnight after the receipt of his Communique under a threat of any action the Government thought fit to take.

Of course the Bishop refused to withdraw his letter or to apologize for having written it. The Late Holy Father, Pius XI, speaking of Catholic Action once said, "Our enemies may put me to death, but as long as I live, they shall never reduce me to silence".

In the first place we repudiate the rights of any human authority to muzzle a pastor with divine mission to instruct his spiritual flock and explain them the duty they owe to God and to their children.

Why State Control of Education is Opposed?

I should like to state very briefly the principles on which we base our position to state control of education and in a particular manner to state controlled Godless education. There are three societies which have to do with education. First there is the family—the oldest society of all. On the parent as the author of the child's life there is incumbent a grave obligation, which he can never shirk, the duty to educate his children spiritually, and physically. Nobody is entitled to deprive him of that right, which arises from nature and the author of nature. But because the family is capable of giving a complete education, the State is bound to come to its aid and give it the means which it lacks. But the State has no right to arrogate to itself the rights of the parent, except in so far as they are willing to be acceded. The State is entitled to educate its subjects with a view to their temporal happiness, but spiritually the obligation rests before God with the parent. There is the third power of a different kind; there is the divine society of

the Church established by God for the salvation of souls. She has received a Commission to 'teach all nations' to preach 'the Gospel, to every creature' irrespective of time or space. She is a spiritual mother in the sense that she gets her children to the supernatural life in Baptism, and, as a mother, she watches over every phase of her children's life. Should any human authority intervene to take advantage of the children's helplessness, she will resist and oppose it with all the means at her disposal. It is on these grounds that we protest against the action of the Travancore Government's resolution. The Christian population of the State is about one-third of the whole and the majority of these Christians are Catholics. If the State insist on sending their children to schools where no religion is taught, they violate the right of parents to educate their children according to their conscience; if the State refuse to come to their aid in carrying out that obligation, if they deprive them of the subsidy needed to maintain their schools they deprive them of something to which they have a right by distributive justice. They pay taxes and have a right to share in the State aid.

**"Without Religion, No Motive for
Morality or Virtue"**

Still further they are opposing the rights of the Catholic Church to which they belong. The Church claims the right to open schools and to supervise the spiritual education of the children through all its phases. She is not concerned with the mere intellectual formation except in so far as it touches on the spiritual interest of

her children but she cannot look on with indifference if teachers abuse their office to inoculate the child with ideas that are subversive of God's law and the rights of the Church, but above all she resents any intellectual formation apart from religion or in a non-Catholic atmosphere. To force parents to send their children to schools, where no religion is taught is to violate a natural right. We know that religion is a thing that enters into every phase of life and to divorce it from education is to divorce it from the most important element in its life. It would mean saying to the child, "You do not need religion in your school days", and the child will reply "If I do not need it now, then I shall never need it". But we know and all sensible men know that religion is the most important element in the formation or character and personality—the basis of good citizenship. You may store the mind with cold knowledge, develop the thinking faculty to perfection but unless the will is trained to self-restraint and respect for law of God and man, the child's soul may become the dumping ground for all the moral garbage of society. A man may be able to roll to bed with a Latin phrase and rise with a verse of Greek, but unless his will is controlled, he may become a danger to society and to his fellowmen. Without religion, without belief in a Supreme Being, to whom he is responsible in time and eternity, he has no motive for morality or virtue. Yet the Government of Travancore is out to do away with religion in the education of her children, the one saving element in moral formation.

We have a right to ask those who wish to follow such a line of conduct, why they are doing so. It cannot be in the interest of education, for the Christian agencies were the pioneers in the matter of education. Last year there were 2,093 aided primary schools, the majority of them Catholics with 350,000 pupils, while there were but 743 Government schools with less than half the number of pupils. Christians have contributed more to the advance of education in the State of Travancore than all other agencies.

The Church's Educational Activities

Is it that Travancore fears that the Catholic Church is adverse to progress and enlightenment? They should remember that for centuries unchallenged by rulers or states, she charged herself with the education of children in sacred and profane sciences. Beneath the towering spires of her great cathedrals and within the shadow of her monastic institutions she assembled children of Europe—rich and poor alike—and imparted to them a liberal education; and at her call and inspiration some of the greatest universities came into existence. Are the Statesmen of Travancore afraid that Catholic teaching may be subversive of authority? Impossible! The words of St. Paul—her great missionary—have been on her lips all through the ages, they have been ringing down the arches of 2,000 years, "Be ye subject to the higher powers, for all power comes from God". I can see no other reason for their action than hostility to our religion: I suspect their philosophy is anti-Christian. Like Hitler and Mussolini they want to reduce their subjects' body and soul to the State, regardless of the claims of God and

the parents on the soul of the child.

In that they seem to be following the example of the European dictators who are now no more. Of open persecution the Catholic has no fear, for the blood of the martyrs has always been considered the seeds of the Faith, but concealed, insidious propoganda in favour of secularism means alienating the minds of children from their allegiance to God and to the Church, their spiritual Mother; but future generations will have reason to regret the effects of the procedure, when perhaps it may be too late to remedy the evil.

What about the Rights of Minorities?

Lastly it is worthy of remark that some of the leaders of Indian opinion have proclaimed that the rights of minorities will be securely safeguarded in the future Constitution of India and that each community should be the judge of these guarantees. The Catholics of Travancore claim as a sacred right freedom of Religion in the matter of education and a share in State aid in the exercise of this right. Is the action of the Travancore Government typical of what may come to us Catholics in a free India? I hope not but what security can we feel with the example of the Travancore Government before our eyes. I leave it at that and only add that we must raise our voices in protest in a case that is, against the liberties and rights of brave and suffering section of the people of India.

After several speakers addressed the gathering the following resolution was passed unanimously:

This meeting of the Catholics of Delhi assembled on the 8th October 1945, having read and considered:

1. The pastoral letter of the Bishop of Changanacherry;

2. The letter of the Government of Travancore calling upon him to withdraw his pastoral letter and the reply to it by the Bishop of Changanacherry; and

3. The proposed educational policy of the Travancore State. Resolve that:

1. Inasmuch as the pastoral letter was conceived in the true Apostolic spirit and issued in his inherent episcopal right and was not intended to be prejudicial to the interests of the State, but merely to place before his flock the dangers of the proposed educational reform, the action of the Travancore Government in calling upon the Bishop to withdraw his pastoral letter was unjustified and hasty.

ii. While this meeting appreciates the need of compulsory primary education in a progressive state, it protests strongly against any proposed or implied discrimination against denominational aided primary schools or the coercion of parents to send their children to Government institutions where they could not receive the moral and religious education which every Catholic parent is bound to provide for his children. This meeting cannot believe that this can be the aim or intention of the proposed educational reform, for to so would be to deny at once the freedom of action and conscience of the individual. It is an undoubted fact that denominational schools and particularly the Catholic schools have con-

tributed in no small measure to the progress of education in the State and it will require the pioneer Catholic missionary endeavour to bring in any measure in the name of educational reform which would strike at the very roots of their existence. The meeting therefore urges that provided the standard of teaching in the denominational schools is up to that required by Government, there should be no discrimination in regard to Government aid or treatment, otherwise it will be tantamount to discrimination in favour of one class of the State subjects against others.

iii. It is resolved that copies of the above resolutions be sent to the Travancore Government and H. E. the Viceroy.



Anent the Dewan's Reply

BY

The Rev. P. Carty S. J

"The Government of Travancore is determined to proceed ahead with its programme of free and compulsory primary education(despite) the innumerable telegrams, cablegrams, and threats as to the inevitable destruction of a Govt. by spiritual atom bombs." Naturally enough threats of spiritual bombs can be received with far greater equanimity than the menace of material ones. But, trifling apart, one is left with the presumption that the Dewan had an eye to creating a favourable impression for his scheme in the States. If so, he may have been deluded, for while the American representative would, politely take down his statements, he would likely recall, with a repressed smile that State monopoly in education is unknown in the States, private institutions running side by side with public schools all over the educational system of America, from the elementary schools up to the professional colleges and universities; while Travancore, rather late in the day, is planning to revert to Hitler's totalitarian ways.

A Few Statements Examined

What ever that may be, however, the Dewan's reply contains a few statements which have the advantage of clearing up the issues and which may call for some comments. For one thing, it is now clear that the Dewan

looks on the whole problem as a tussle with the Roman Catholics and with none else. It is presented (perhaps for American consumption) as the earnest endeavour of an enlightened Government to introduce an up-to-date educational policy, but is opposed by the rather medieval and retrograde claims of the Roman Catholics. That this is the opposite of the truth is evident from an examination of the central assertion contained in the reply! "The Government of Travancore is determined to proceed ahead with its programme of free and compulsory primary education." why this solemn declaration? The emphasis on the State "determination" obviously implies a decision against opposition. Who opposed it? From the whole drift of the "Reply" that opposition can be only that of the Roman Catholics. Well, I can only say that this is the very opposite of the truth, so far as the Catholics view on free and compulsory education is concerned. The Catholics of Travancore are enlightened and patriotic enough to desire earnestly that education should be imparted to all the children of the land rich and poor alike. What they object to is that the Government should assume the complete monopoly of that education instead of letting private institutions co-operate in that work. It is because this co-operation is accepted and welcomed in all free countries, where the policy of free and compulsory education is practised jointly by private and public schools, that they feel themselves justified in asking for the maintenance of their private schools in Travancore. Besides this argument based on the practice of other enlightened countries, there are reasons based on fundamental principles. The Dewan says: "I deliberately refrain from other religious or quasi-religious arguments

put forward." It would be interesting to know what these arguments are; for I am not aware of any such. Is the argument drawn from the respect of minority lights a religious argument? The statement recently made on the subject by the Premier of England, was advanced by us, but the Dewan 'refrained' from it. Again, the decision of the Supreme Court of Justice of the U. S. A. declaring that the State has no right to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers; is this decision also a religious argument? The Dewan 'refrained' from it though it was put forward by us more than once.

There is, however, a purely religious argument which strangely enough, the Dewan has NOT refrained from: "It may be worthwhile remaking," says the Reply, "that spiritual atom bombs are perhaps not exclusively the monopoly of the Catholic Faith." Whatever one may think of spiritual bombs, it is deeply to be regretted that the statement should have found room in the Reply; in the mouth of a State Administrator it has an unpleasant innuendo which one would not have expected from such quarters. By this, however, I do not mean to cast a slur on the Dewan's sense of religion. What I personally know of him convinces me that he spoke his mind when he said: "I grant that religious and ethical education is highly important." It was the reassertion of what he said in a previous communique; "I am an advocate of religious education. Let me prefix all I say with the fundamental doctrine that I hold in regard to the objectives and the ideals not only of education but of

life." Precisely, everybody knows that were it not for "the ideals of life" Catholics would not care a straw to include religious instruction in their educational system. I would only remind Sir C. P. Ramaswamy that it is with feelings similar to those which honour him that the Catholics of Travancore are urged to plead for the maintenance of their schools for their Catholic children while they are fully prepared to co-operate loyally in the realization of a free and compulsory scheme of primary education. The granting of the request will again bring peace and contentment to a community which has ever been loyal to His Highness's benign rule and which, moreover, is of sufficient importance by itself since it forms the same proportion to the Population of Travancore which the Muslim community holds in the population of India.



Truth about the Travancore Educational Policy

By

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We are passing through very exciting days. In the welter and confusion created by the agitation against our schools and colleges, many false charges are also being levelled against us.

We are accused of teaching our religion in our schools to Hindu, Muslim and Non-Catholic students and of insisting on continuing to do so in future. This charge is not made by outside alone, who may not be familiar with the conditions in Travancore; but it is being indulged in by other people here, who have held responsible positions, and who could have known even otherwise, the actual state of affairs. The real fact is that we teach Catholic children alone our religion in our schools and that only outside class hours. Not even general ethics is being taught to Hindu, Muslim or Non-Catholic students in any of our primary schools. This is not a practice introduced in recent times. The Catholic schools have never imparted religious instruction to any except Catholic children.

We are also accused of standing against the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in the country. You know this also is a false charge.

There is also a set of people who are saying that we started an agitation quite unnecessarily. They contend that there has been no change introduced recently in the matter of imparting religious education in denominational schools, or in the matter of grants for such schools. According to them, we have no grievances at all, and we have started an agitation with some ulterior motives.

At the very outset, let me state what is the real position of the Catholics. We welcome the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in the State. Our demand is that we should have the liberty of maintaining our denominational primary schools, where we can teach our religion to *Our own children*, outside class hours. Though the Government, by their decision, published in the Gazette Extraordinary, concede this demand, the Catholics had reasons for entertaining real apprehensions, that all their primary schools would be taken over by the State. At present the only remaining question, as far as we are concerned, is whether our denominational schools will in future get reasonable grants from the public funds.

The resolution for taking over the management of all the private primary schools by the State was passed in the Assembly and Council only in last August and the Gazette Extraordinary announcing the Government's decision came out on 12th September. Still most of the people who accuse us with all kinds of wild charges, seem to have forgotten entirely the sequence of events, that led up to the present position. To get a correct perspective we have to look back a little.

The Education Reorganisation Committee

Let us begin from the date of the appointment of the Travancore Education Reorganisation Committee. The Committee was constituted by a Government Order, dated 24th November 1943. The Committee's terms of reference were "to enquire into the existing educational system in the State and to formulate proposals for its reorganisation with due regard to post-war developments". The Committee consisted of 43 members representing various sections interested in the education in the State. The Chairman was Mr. H. C. Papworth, Pro- Vice- Chancellor of the University of Travancore, who was a former Director of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency. Besides Mr. Papworth; there were on the Committee the following Government Servants: The Director of Public Instruction; acting director of public instruction; Director of Research; principal, Engineering College; Principal, University College; Secretary, Government Central Stores; Principal, Training College; Registrar, University of Travancore; a Lecturer of University College; a Division Inspector of schools; Organiser, Vocational and Welfare work in Schools; Inspector for Muslim Education an Additional District Judge and the Secretary to the Committee. Apart from these 15 Government Servants there was also on the Committee Mr. Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer, who is the Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Travancore; but he is not now a full-time Government Official. There were 13 members altogether from the Upper and Lower Houses of the Legislature. Among these I find the name of the Deputy President of the Assembly as well. There were 11 members to represent aided schools and colleges and of these

9 were Christians. Out of these 9 Christians, there were 4 Catholics, 3 of the latter being Bishops and the other the Principal of a First Grade College. These with two members to represent the Commercial Community and a retired Division Inspector of Schools, made up the 43 members of the Committee. From the above enumeration it is abundantly clear that there were enough and more members on the Committee to safeguard the interests of the Government. Also it will be apparent that the 9 Christian members interested in aided schools could not have unduly influenced the rest of the 34 members of the Committee. The Committee was a thoroughly representative body, and most of the members on it were men who could speak with authority and experience on educational questions in Travancore. This learned Committee took one year and 5 months for their deliberations, and their Report was signed by the members on 22nd March 1945. The Report is unanimous; no dissenting or explanatory note has been recorded by any member.

Some of the unanimous recommendations of the Committee which are relevant for our present controversy are:

1. Primary education should be made free and compulsory for all boys and girls between the ages of five and ten.
2. The two main branches of Educational Management, viz., Government and Private, should continue.
3. On the one hand, Government should have adequate control over all private agencies; on the other hand there should be provision for liberal grant-in-aid.

4. The Committee accepts the principle that all teachers, whether in Government schools, or private schools should receive the same rate of salary and that, in respect of conditions of service and security of tenure, there should be no distinction between the Government school teacher and the private school teacher.

5. As a practical measure, in primary schools Government should pay a grant equal to 75 per cent of the salary of the teachers, and although the managers are expected to pay the remaining 25 per cent this need not be made a condition of recognition in the case of schools, already in existence. No private management, however should be permitted to open new schools, unless at the time they apply for such permission, they are already paying their teachers the minimum salary given in Department schools.

The three Catholic Bishops and the Catholic Principal of the First Grade College who are members on the Committee have subscribed to the above recommendations. All the Catholic members of both the Assembly and the Council supported the motion that primary education should be made free and compulsory, when it came up for consideration in the respective Houses. In all the articles that appeared in Catholic Papers, in the speeches made and resolutions passed at the Catholic protest meetings, you will not find a single word against the introduction of free and compulsory primary education, if any mention is made at all, it will be only to welcome it. Yet in the confusion created by the agitation directed against the Catholic schools and colleges, we are accused in the Press and on the Platform as standing against the

introduction of free and compulsory education and thus constituting a bar against all progress in the State.

Another aspect of this unanimous Report, which I would ask you to note, is that it was signed by all the Government Servants on the Committee without the slightest demur. If the Government had even the haziest notions of taking over the management of all private schools on 22nd March 1945- the date the final Report was signed by the members- do you think that all the Government Servants on the Committee would have subscribed to the proposition that there should be provision for liberal grant-in-aid and that, as a practical measure, in primary schools government should pay a grant equal to 75 per cent of the salary of the teachers or that they would have approved statements like these in the body of the Report?

"From these figures it is clear that a very considerable and worthy contribution to primary and middle school education is made by private agencies and that the State cannot afford to loss this valuable asset. Although the introduction of compulsion may involve the Government the opening of new schools by Government wherever necessary, every help and encouragement should be given to private managements to improve their schools and to open new ones.....We are definitely of opinion that well-conducted and efficient schools should be generously aided by Government."

As I said, the final Report of the Committee was approved and signed on 22nd March 1945. It is seen from the printed Report that it was presented to the Government in May 1945. Some time before the

Assembly and Council met for the Budget Session, each of their members was presented with a copy of the Report of the Education Committee, but those copies were marked "Confidential." The discussions on the Report began on 3rd August 1945 in the Assembly, which met first, with an introductory speech from Mr. Papworth, the Chairman of the Committee. It was only then that the general public could have had any correct notions about the recommendations of the Committee. Though the Report was not published and was not available to the public, since there were 43 members on the Committee representing various interests, and since there were also certain newspaper reports giving the bare outlines of some of the important recommendations of the Committee, all those agencies, anxious to know about the Committee's recommendations, must have had an impression, that nothing revolutionary was recommended by the Committee. So people were lulled into that belief, and they went on in that peaceful atmosphere till they began to read in newspapers about the discussion in the Assembly, on the resolution that private primary schools should all be taken over by the Government. This resolution—which, if carried in the House and assented to by the Government, would have put out of existence 2169 private primary schools in the State—was taken up for discussion after lunch time on 8th August 1945, and the discussion was concluded and resolution carried before lunch on the succeeding day. One interesting feature of the voting is that the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University who was Chairman of the Education Committee, the Director of Public Instruction, the Deputy President of the Assembly and a few others, all of whom had subscribed

to the Committee's Report, as well as all the other Government members in the Assembly voted enbloed for taking over all the private primary schools by the State. Those Government members who signed the Committee's Report and who had come to certain definite decisions after deliberating for nearly a year and a half and who, in the meantime had consulted, as mentioned in the introduction to the report, many learned educational reports and also had the assistance of several experts, had all to go back on their views, because of the persuasive eloquence of the mover of the resolution, who, I am told, is a contractor by profession, and three or four of his supporters. The discussion on the resolution could not have lasted for more than two or three hours altogether. The conversion of Mr. Papworth and other signatories to the Report must have been sudden and complete as in a revival meeting.

The Historic Resolution in the Assembly

Let me say a word about the resolution. The members of the Assembly sent in no less than 69 resolutions on the Report of the Education Reorganisation Committee for discussion in the Assembly. On the 2nd August, the Secretary to the Assembly printed and circulated 65 resolutions. The offending resolution was not among them. Evidently it had not then reached the Secretary. Almost all these resolutions were for implementing the recommendations of the Committee. On 3rd August, the Secretary to the Assembly again circulated a list of 4 resolutions, and the resolution, that has now become so famous, is the 69th and the last. On going-

through the 69 resolutions, I find a number of members sending in resolutions on the same subject such as religious education in Schools, the increase of the salary of the teachers, etc., etc. But for taking over all the Private primary schools by State, there was only this solitary resolution

The resolution was carried, as I said, before lunch time on the 9th August. The House was engaged with other matters after lunch. That was the final day of the Assembly. The next day, the 10th August, the Council met and the Dewan President announced at the very commencement of the proceedings that the Government have decided to take over all the private primary schools. You may be startled to hear this. I was, indeed, taken aback when I came across such a statement in *The Deepika*, while I was going through some issues of that paper, containing the Assembly and Council proceedings. The official Report of the proceedings, even of the first day of the Assembly, is not yet out, and so we have necessarily to depend on reports published in the newspapers. It was in a report issued by the A. P. I. and published in *The Deepika* that I read about the Government decision. The relevant portion reads: "The Dewan also announced that the Government have decided to take over all private primary schools." At first I could not believe this statement to be correct, because of the suddenness of the decision and also because it goes quite counter to the tenor of the Press Communique; the decision announced by the Gazette Extraordinary, and the statement to the Press issued by the Dewan, all of which came subsequently. Another consideration also stood against my accepting

the correctness of the report. The Dewan was announcing the Government decision to the Upper House even before that House had an opportunity to discuss the same question and express an opinion thereon. Though the A. P. I Report was published in *The Deepika* with bold headlines: "Government Decided To Take Over Primary Schools — Statement in Council By Dewan", I wanted yet confirmation from some other source. I sent for a copy of *The Bharathi*, a pro Government paper, of the corresponding date and there I found the same announcement appearing the Dewan's speech with which he opened the Council proceedings. In *The Bharathi* the report appeared under the heading: "Government's Goal— Dewan's Important Statement Thereon— Plain Hints Regarding Assembly's Discussions". *The Bharathi's* report also will tell us why the decision was announced before the Council itself had an occasion to express its opinion. *The Bharathi* Report reads: "The Dewan continued; Now let me explain to you the Government's policy on certain questions, What I am going to mention here had the approval of the Assembly. If you think that there is any defect in the Government's policy, I am prepared to give you enough time to express your opinion. The Government have decided that no religious instruction should be given during school hours. Government think that this is necessary. The Assembly adopted the resolution by 39 votes against 19. Next the question arose, if the Government could give 75 per cent of the cost of primary education as grant, why not the Government take up the whole primary education under their direct management. The Assembly has decided by 52 votes against 8 in favour of Government's direct management. Considering all the circumstances, the Government have decided to do

so on the basis of ten-year-programme. Under this system the whole pay of the teachers have to be met by the Government. But this being an important duty, Government have resolved to strictly carry out the decision".

So the Government have decided the question and announced its decision openly in the Council on the 10th August. But in the Press Communique issued by the Government on the 31st August, we are told that the Government have yet to make the decision. I have to come back to this Press Communique later on, but for the present purpose let me read to you one or two statements from it: "*If* the Government accept the recommendations of the Assembly and Council ... and assume responsibility for the management of primary education ... Again "*Even if* the Government decide to make themselves responsible for the management of primary education etc". And now let us see what is stated in the Gazette Extraordinary dated 12th September announcing the Government decision. The Government order begins like this: "Having bestowed their anxious consideration on the subject, Government have come to the conclusion ... and decided to assume control and management of primary education, etc". And in a Statement issued to the Press on 22nd September by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the claim is again put forward that the decision was arrived at after mature consideration. For, the Statement says: "It is needless to add that Government arrived at their decision after the most careful consideration". But it is not clear whether the decision referred to here is of 10th August or of 12th September.

After the Dewan President had announced the Government's decision in the council, you can more or less imagine what must have been the nature of the discussion on the resolution in that House. When Catholic members, however, strongly urged the necessity of having Catholic schools for educating Catholic children, the Dewan relented a bit from the position that the State itself should manage all primary schools and conceded that Catholics may have their own schools and if these schools come up to the standards fixed by the Education Department they will get recognition but no grant. The Dewan was quite definite on this point. *The Mail* of August 23rd reported: "The Dewan said that there was absolutely no objection to conduct religious classes in the schools outside the class hours and that there was nothing to prevent the private agencies from running schools, provided they conformed to the standards set by the Government". The only thing is that they will not be given any grant by the Government. The Council approved, by a majority vote, the decision the Government had already taken.

When the Education Committee Report was being discussed in the Council, *The Deepika* came out with one or two leading articles contending for the continuance of the Catholic primary school under Catholic management at the same time receiving aid from the Government. *The Poozadhwani*, another Catholic daily, took up the same attitude. About this time Rev. Fr. Carty wrote a letter to *The Mail*, calling upon the Travancore Government to decline to accept the resolution passed in the Assembly and Council.

The Government Communique

A Government Communique was issued on 31st August as a reply to the above mentioned critics. I shall go through this Communique in some detail. It states in one place: "It is a well known fact that in a very large number of privately managed schools, the teachers receive nothing more than the Government grant and in many cases not even that. This disgraceful and dishonest treatment accorded to large numbers of teachers has not been rectified in any way as a consequence of the Joint Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Clergy of Kerala to which one of the articles refers". Leaving aside the venom that is exhibited here against the Catholics, let me ask how the Communique can assert as a fact, that in many cases the teachers do not get the whole of the grant given by the Government. For the last one year and more the Government were paying the salary grant directly to the teachers. Even the contribution the managers had to give to the teachers as dearness allowance, was not allowed to be paid directly into the hands of the teachers. The manager's contribution first had to be deposited in the Government treasury, and then the Government added their contribution to the salary grant of the teacher and it was for this consolidated amount, that cheques were issued to individual teachers in private schools. Some people seem to think that starting private school is as lucrative as starting chitties and restaurants. If it is so why is it, that in these days of struggle for existence, practically one community alone is in this field?

The Communique deals with the argument that if the Government could give 75 per cent of the pay of the teachers as grant they could as well pay the whole salary and manage all the schools themselves. I shall deal with this aspect later on.

Next, the communique says: "This resolution was carried in the Assembly by 52 votes against 8, and in the Council by 30 to 4, and it would have made no difference to the result in either House had the official members remained neutral". Even if the Government members had abstained from voting, the resolution would have perhaps been carried in both the Houses; but, the fact that the Government members *en bloc* voted for the resolution must have considerably influenced the voting of other members, especially of the nominated members. At any rate, if the government members did not vote, the majorities would have been far less impressive and the Government would not have been able to state in the very next sentence: "The large majorities by which the resolution was carried show that there is overwhelming consensus of opinion that, if Government are called upon etc, etc." For this overwhelming consensus of opinion, the votes of the Government members have contributed substantially, though perhaps not overwhelmingly

Papal Encyclical Misquoted

The Communique extracts the following statement from the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on Christian Education of Youth:

"It is an inalienable right as well as the indispensable duty of the Church to watch over the entire education of her children in all institutions, *public or private*

not merely in regard to the religious instruction there given, *but in regard to every other branch of learning and every regulation* in so far as religion and morality are concerned".

The italicised is as given in the Communiqué. And the Communiqué then comments thus on the passage extracted: "In other words, the Church claims a divine right to *dominate schools*".

By extracting a quotation from the Encyclical some people might think, that the person who drafted the Communiqué must be well versed in that Encyclical. It is, however, certain that the author of the Communiqué has not carefully read the Encyclical. He may not have even seen it. If he had carefully read the whole of the Encyclical he would not have expressed his comments in such categorical terms.

I shall presently read to you the same extract and also some other passages from the Encyclical which will show that the interpretation put in the Communiqué is entirely wrong. There is internal evidence in the Communiqué to show, that its draftsman is more conversant with rationalistic literature than with Papal Encyclicals. For, the extract from the Encyclical and the opinion expressed on the same, appear to have been taken from an article written by one J. W. Boynter in the *Rationalistic Annual* of 1937. The Encyclical under reference is known by the name *Divini Magistri*; Boynter mistakenly calls it by the name "*Rappresentanti*". There is not even such a word in the Latin language. The same mistake occurs in the Communiqué. Boynter also after extracting the relevant portion of the Encyclical adds: "In other words

the Church claims a divine right to dominate schools". So it is the opinion of Poynter that was reproduced in the Communique without acknowledgement! The only originality shown here is to emphasize the last two words in the comment by underlining them. Let us now see what sort of a person is this Poynter, who was taken by the author of the Communique as a reliable guide to the teaching of the Catholic Church on the question of educating her children. In one portion of his article, Poynter himself admits that he is a renegade.

In the extract from the Encyclical a wrong impression is given by underlining certain words, which Poynter himself has not done. I shall read to you the same extract as it ought to be read emphasizing certain words and expressions so that what was meant by the passage may become quite clear.

"It is the inalienable right as well as the indispensable duty of the Church to *watch over* the entire education of *her children* in all institutions public and private not merely in regard to the religious instruction there given but in regard to every other branch of learning and every regulation in *so far as religion and morality are concerned*.

It refers exclusively to the religious teaching of the Catholic children and also their studies in other branches of learning in so far as religion and morality are concerned. It is not difficult to realise that in other branches of learning the questions regarding religion and morality may often crop up. What is wrong on the part of the Church to be solicitous to watch over the education of her children in secular subjects, *in so far as it affects religion and morality?* If the draftsman of the Com.

munique had the full text of the Encyclical with him and had carefully read it, I think, he would not have been so very assertive. For it is explicitly stated in the very same Encyclical that "the Church does not interfere with the regulation of the State, because the Church in her motherly prudence is not unwilling that her schools and institutions for the education of the laity being in keeping with the legitimate dispositions of the civil authority; she is in every way, ready to co-operate with this authority and to make provisions for the mutual understanding, should difficulties arise".

Voting by Christian Members

"Special attention", continues the Communique, "must be given to the fact that the majority of Christians both in the Legislative Assembly and the Council voted for the resolution that the Government should take over the management of primary education". This is indeed a very bold statement since it is entirely untrue. In the Assembly Messrs K. M. Paul, K. A. Mathew, P. Yesuadian and A. Nesamony are the 4 Christian members who voted in favour of the resolution. The 8 Christian members who voted against are: Messrs P. K. Kuriakose, Chazikattu Joseph, J. T. Morais, K. T. Michael, K. Varghese Ithacc, J. E. A. Pereira, P. O. Thomas and D. Thomas. Three Christian members, Messrs P. M. Varghese, V. I. Idicula and K. G. Thomas remained neutral. Even if we add the votes of the Christian Government members in the Assembly, viz., Messrs Papworth and Kumara Das, who really had no choice in the matter, only 6½ Christians voted in favour of the resolution while 8 Christians voted

against. In the Council, Messrs Sathyanesan and T. W. V. Park are the 2 Christians who voted for the resolution, while Mrs. Kora and Messrs K. S. Joseph, Paul Thaliath and K. C. Chandy were the 4 Christians who voted against. Mr. A. Gabriel Nadar remained neutral. Even if we add the vote of the Government member, Mr. Papworth, there were only 3 Christian members who voted in favour, whereas 4 voted against. In reference to *The Powradwani* the same paragraph of the Communique says: "It is quite untrue to say that the proposal is an unpardonable insult to Christian educational endeavour and that it will cause grief to twenty lakhs of Christians". If the statements of *The Powradwani* are characterised as quite untrue, I do not know with what terms we have to characterise the attempt on the part of the author of the Communique in making out in a Government Press Communique that the majority of Christians in both Houses supported the measure. The statements whether the proposal is an unpardonable insult to the Christian educational endeavour or that it would cause grief to twenty lakhs of Christians, are difficult to prove or disprove. But the fact as to who all voted for or against the motion among Christian members in the two Houses must have been well known to the draftsman of the Communique and was a matter for easy verification and proof.

The last two paragraphs of the Communique refer to the letter written by Fr. Carty to *The Mail*. Fr. Carty has already replied to this and I do not wish to add anything except to say one word in reply to the following statement in the Communique: "To state without any attempt to verify the statement that the Legislature ha

decided to eliminate all private educational institutions is an abuse of the privilege of public controversy. The proceedings of the legislature are available for all to read". This statement was made on 31st August 1945. We are now in the middle of October; even to-day the proceedings of the very first day of the Assembly are not available for any to read.

Before I leave this Press Communique I have to draw your attention to the stand taken therein by the Government as regards the important question that is agitating us to-day, viz., whether our primary schools will get financial aid from the Government if we teach religion to our Catholic children outside school hours. This is the revelent portion on that point in the Communique. "If Christians or any other body of people desire to conduct their own schools in their own way and for the benefit of their own body they will be free to do so; and if such schools satisfy the standards of attainments prescribed by the Education Department, they will be granted recognition, but they will not be eligible for financial aid from Government: There are already schools of this kind recognised in the State". The intention appears to be firm not to give any grant to our primary schools as they exist to-day.

Bishop's Pastoral Letter

Sometimes after the date of the Communique I was referring to till now, viz, 31st August 1945, the Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Changanacherry came to the notice of the Government and on the 6th September the Government issued notice to His Lordship to withdraw the Pastoral Letter and to express open regret for having issued it. Two weeks' time was given to His

Lordship to comply with the Government's demand. As I told you, the notice was issued on the 6th September. In some of the daily papers of Travancore that came out that very day, there was an A. P. I. news item relating to the denominational schools in Ceylon. The news appears to have emanated from Colombo on 29th August though it found a place in the Travancore Papers for the first time only on the 6th September; that is, after 8 days, exactly synchronising with the issue of the notice by the Government to the Bishop. The news also was very depressing to those who were contending for the private management. The last paragraph in the news item alone is relevant in this connection. It reads: "*The schools that are likely to be affected are Christian Mission Schools, which after 1948, will either have to hand-over the management to the Government to be run as State institutions giving free education and without religious bias or stand on their own legs in the matter of running the institutions according to their religious faiths. In the latter case most of such institutions can stand only a slender chance of survival.*" Italics mine.) Both the Trivandrum Dailies; *The Bharathi* and *The Kaumudi* on the 6th September published this news with prominent and attractive headlines. That was in Malayalam. On the 7th September *The Kaumudi* which contained the A. P. I. news that the Government have asked the Bishop of Changanacherry to withdraw His Lordship's Pastoral Letter, also published the news that came from Colombo, this time in English. The editor must have realised fully the importance of that news before he decided to publish the same news twice, once in Malayalam and then in English. The Dewan also has relied on this news item in his Ampala-

puzha speech- After stating the position of schools in Ceylon as mentioned in the A. P. I. news, he observed: "It was quite clear that Ceylon was treading the same path as ourselves". The same idea the Dewan repeated in the interview he gave to the representative of the Associated Press of America. I have to deal at some length with the position of denominational schools in Ceylon. Just now I need only say that the portion I have quoted out of the news item is extremely misleading. In Ceylon, if existing denominational schools come within the free system, they can continue to be under their own management and also will receive the full salary of the teachers as grant from the State.

Very soon after the notice was issued to the Bishop it became known that His Lordship was not going to withdraw the Pastoral Letter. In the event of the refusal by the Bishop, the Government had to carry out the threat hold out in the notice for non-compliance. Better counsel, however, prevailed and by issuing a Gazette Extraordinary announcing the Government decision about primary schools even before the time of grace allowed in the notice, the question of the withdrawal of the Pastoral became a mere side issue.

The Government Order in this Gazette Extraordinary states that, "in view of the agitation sponsored by certain organisations and the misconceptions that, notwithstanding what has been stated publicly more than once by and on behalf of the Government, still persist the Government wish to make certain points clear." The only question that was agitating the minds of Catholics and most Christians after the date of

the Press Communique was whether they will get grant from public funds for conducting their schools as they do at present. On this point the Government Order is extremely vague. A close reading of the Order, however leaves in me the impression, that it wants to carry out the intention expressly stated by the Dewan in the Council, viz., the denominational schools may continue to exist, but they will not get any Government grant.

On 16th of September, the Dewan made his Ampalapuzha speech. The speech, even as it appeared in *The Mail* which, I am told, undergoes a double distillation before it goes out, shows that the speaker must have been very much agitated while making the speech. See, for instance some of his statements: "Speaking on behalf of His Highness' Government and as a fully accredited representative of that Government, the recent order whereby the Government has assumed responsibility of the primary education of the State, together with the financial burden involved therein, will be implemented and no obstruction and no threat will prevail against the inerradicable resolve of the Government to implement the scheme." "This is an occasion of the assumption by the Government of the responsibility for primary education and the financial burden of such education, which were an essential, inescapable and inevitable policy of the Government from which they will not depart." Why all this talk about threats and counterthreats? The Dewan had only to make clear whether the Government were prepared to give grant to private primary schools in future if they conform to the existing type of denominational schools, that receive grant now. The report of

the speech given out by the A. P. I. to the local papers and published in some of them, gave a glimmering of hope. For there were in that report passages like this "It was actually suggested in the Assembly that a Catholic might teach the principles of Catholicism inside school hours to the Catholic students, and leave the others to play about in the compound. It was then pointed out how such a system would not work and the reforc it was suggested that religious instruction should be given outside school hours. The whole question, said the Dewan was very simple. Are you going to teach religion within or without school hours. If the management wants to give religious instruction outside school hours they might continue to do so." The Dewan also concluded his speech in these words: "I trust in sober moments there will be time for reflection and ratiocination on the part of those, who, on the basis of a misconception, have uttered wild and whirling words ignoring their complications." But the actual words the Dewan used about the conditions which will entitle a school to receive grant from Government were as vague as ever. His actual words are: "Representing His Highness' Government and charged with the duty of administering to his various subjects belonging to several creeds and faiths, it is my duty to see that I do not swerve to one side or to the other but preserve an attitude of strict neutrality. It is therefore only those institutions which come within the ambit of the neutrality and conform to that neutrality and preserve to themselves the possibility of religious instruction outside those limits and boundaries that will be eligible for Government grants." The Dewan was saying all these "for the benefit of the few who do not want to

understand". The speech as reported in THE MAIL did not contain the passages which I said might give a ray of hope; the report in THE MAIL left us high and dry with expressions like, 'ambit of neutrolity, conformation to neutrality, limits and boundaries.' We are at this stage even to-day.

Popular Support?

The Press Communique said that the large majorities by which the resolution was carried show that there is an overwhelming consensus of opinion behind it. The report of the Education Committee was kept a secret till the resolution came up for discussion in the Assembly. The public had no knowledge of it. The members of the Legislature had no opportunity to know the real views of their constituencies, since the issue was never placed before them. In the circumstances how can the voting be said to reflect the view of the constituencies? Will the voting in both the Houses really amount to anything more than the expression of opinion of the members in their individual capacity? One of the Christian members, who remained neutral in the Assembly, at the time of voting, has subsequently issued a statement that he remained neutral because at the time of voting he had no opportunity to ascertain the general view of the voters in his constituency. There was also no discussion in the newspapers on this question at that time. Yet the whole world is now reverberating with the news that for the recent measure adopted by the Travancore Government they had the overwhelming support of the people and that a few reactionaries alone stand against it. I want to make it clear once more that we welcome the introdu-

ction of free and compulsory primary education in the State. Our demand is that, if our denominational schools conform to the standard fixed by the State, they should be given reasonable grant out of public funds.

Even granting for argument's sake that the measure had popular support the Government is not bound to accept it. Many seem to think that 49 men in a community should submit always to the views of the 51. Some of the vernacular papers pinned their faith so much on this principle that they even challenged us to hold a referendum and show that 51 per cent of the people are not for taking over the management of all primary schools by the State. An unjust act will not become just for the reason that 99 men out of 100 support it. You must be all familiar with the description of democracy as given by Prime Minister Attlee in his recent Blackpool speech. I shall not therefor refer to that. I shall, however, read an extract from a speech on the same subject delivered by Lord Greene, the present Master of the Rolls, in Lincoln's Inn Hall, at the end of last year. In precedence, the Master of the Rolls comes next to the Lord Chancellor in the Judicial hierarchy in England. Lord Greene said:

"In order that a democratic system may work well, the spirit in which it is worked is all-important. Democracy—or at any rate successful democracy, as we know it—is not merely, as some persons who do not understand it, seem to think, Government by a majority, and the statement that its object is to secure the greatest good of the greatest number is, like most simplifications, hopelessly inadequate and misleading. A demo

cratic system, if it is to work, must be something far more subtle, far more complicated, far more dependent upon imponderable and often indifinable qualities in the character of the people.

“Democracy at bottom is in truth an attitude of mind: a democratic system is one which makes it possible for that attitude to achieve practical results. A spirit of toleration, an inborn dislike of oppression as such, the belief that it is better to compromise than to get to extremes, the knowledge that an excessive use of its powers by a majority is not only unjust, but will, in the long run, defeat its own ends, an insistence on incorruptibility in the public service, a strong but not capricious public opinion—all these things and many more play an essential part in our democratic attitude of mind and in the working of our system. I must assume their continued existence. But it is right to point out in passing that their continued existence itself depends on a considerable measure on the efficiency of the machine and its ability so to function as to enable the aspirations of the people to be fulfilled and its sense of justice satisfied. If the machine fails to work satisfactorily, so that those aspirations are frustrated and that sense of justice is violated, toleration may relapse into intolerance, the spirit of compromise may give way to intransigence and a majority may aim at the permanent oppression of a recalcitrant minority”.

Before I leave this subject I would ask those who now wield the strong weapon of public opinion whether they would confine the use of this weapon to the question

of the management of primary schools alone or are they willing to extend its use to other problems that are now facing the people of Travancore?

Religious Instruction

I do admit that imparting of religious instruction in schools in a country, where people profess more than one religion is a thorny subject; but there are countries where this problem has been very successfully solved. I would like to mention to you the system that was being worked very satisfactorily in Holland from 1920 till that country was invaded in 1940. Now that the Government have gone back and things have come more or less to the normal the old educational policy, I believe, is being continued. In Holland too there is the question of majority and minority as well as difference of religions. Only one-third of the people are Catholics. The large majority of the rest are Protestants, having different sects among them. There is a large colony of Jews also. All were being treated equally by the State and the greatest harmony prevailed in the States' educational endeavours. The Catholics, the different sects of Protestants and the Jews have their own schools where they teach their religions. These denominational schools form an integral part of the national system of education. The manager appoints the teachers, but the local education authority can refuse to accept such appointments on the grounds of educational unfitness. Also in the maintenance of the standard of secular instruction, the denominational schools are fully under

public control. Those denominational schools which satisfy the standards fixed by the Education Department are given financial help from the State. The measure of grant, according to my information, is what it would cost the State to educate the same number of students in a State's school. In other words, an aided school with hundred students will get as much grant as it would cost the Government to educate 100 students in a Government institution. In the matter of building, maintenance and equipment grants the same principle was being observed. This is quite fair and just to all concerned. The State has an obligation to educate all. If one or more sections of the people who are anxious to impart religious instruction to their children along with secular education, come forward and start schools, why should they not, in fairness, get that financial aid, which, but for their assistance, the State would had to meet from the public funds. The growing realisation that education bereft of religion is incomplete has in recent times made many Governments to give more and more facilities for religious education.

In Travancore, if we go by the only tangible test, available to us to ascertain the efficiency of a school, namely, public examination results, private schools and colleges are far ahead of Government institutions. We are not claiming any grant out of public funds if our schools do not come up to the standard attained by the Departmental schools. But, if they do, why should they not be adequately supported by the State? The State has the obligation to educate our children: even in secular subjects, we give a better education in our schools

than what is available in State schools. We show better results. Why not give us grant what it would cost the State to educate our children in State schools? We do not ask a pie for the cost of religious education we give to our children. If we have to pay the teachers anything extra on this account, we shall meet that cost entirely ourselves. We are only asking as grant what it costs us to give our children secular education according to the standard fixed by the Education Department.

We maintain our schools primarily for the education of our own children. If non-Catholic children come, they are welcome, but we are not over-anxious to have them. Too many of them in our schools defeat the very purpose of our schools. We are conducting our schools to give our children secular and religious education in a Catholic atmosphere. We do not make any secret of it. The Encyclical of the Pope on education is available for all to read. When I say, that in Catholic schools, education is being imparted in a Catholic atmosphere, our non-Catholic friends need not get alarmed, that if they send their children to our schools, they will be breathing a poisonous air. Catholic schools have a Catholic atmosphere in the very same sense the Sanathana School at Alleppey has a Theosophic atmosphere and the N.S.S. schools have a Hindu atmosphere. Do not non-Theosophists and non-Hindus attend these schools? In our schools there will be the guarantee that no teacher will speak in the hearing of the children anything belittling any religion. Can we have this guarantee in State schools? Have we not had professors in Government colleges whose main hobby during class hours was to ridicule all religions?

Religion is a serious business with us and we are obliged to give our children religious education also from their tender age. A time may come and perhaps it is coming rapidly when Catholic schools here will have only Catholic pupils to educate. In most centres we will have enough students from Catholics themselves to run our schools, especially when primary education is made compulsory. But the difficulty may arise in centres where here are only small Catholic congregations. Even in such places if a school is conducted for the benefit of the few students and the education imparted there conform to the standard fixed in the Education Code, think the management, in fairness, is entitled to get her capita grant from the public funds. If, for instance, in a class there are only 10 students, why should not the State give the management that which cost the State to educate these 10 students in a State school. Any extra cost incurred by the management to run the school should, of course, be met by the management.

I would suggest that the grant-in-aid should be made so liberal that all sections of the people should be attracted to come forward and start their own schools, where they can teach their children, along with the secular subjects prescribed by the Education Department, their own religion and also where they can impart to children an education in the atmosphere of their religion. No parent, whether a Hindu, Muslim or Christian, wants his child to grow up irreligious. It is extremely desirable that large numbers of Hindu and Muslim schools should come up where religious education too can be given in their respective

religions. I would certainly respect more a Hindu or a Muslim, who is attached and faithful to his religion, than one who has a vague idea that all religions are good in a way, but has no particular regard for any. It is these latter type of men, I am afraid, that will be turned out by schools where religious education is not imparted. I consider it as the greatest of good fortunes that I had all my education in Catholic schools and colleges till I joined the Inns of Court for my professional studies. I earnestly wish that similar facilities should be enjoyed by my children and my grand children.

It is not in Holland alone that the denominational system is working harmoniously. In Scotland, where the Catholics are a small minority, the State has afforded sufficient facilities for maintaining the denominational nature of the schools, without the extra cost of a penny on the part of the Catholics. In England, even under the old Education Act, in private Elementary Schools, the whole pay of the teachers, all costs of books, stationery, furniture and repairs came from the public funds. By the new Act, in addition, building grants up to 50 per cent, will be given. In this connection I would like to read one or two extracts from "A Guide to the Educational System of England and Wales", published by the Ministry of Education last month. On aided (voluntary) schools, it states:

"Where managers are able and willing to meet half the cost of alterations, improvements and external repairs, the remaining half is met by direct grant from the Exchequer. Powers and duties of managers in regard to appointments and dismissal of teachers and the giving

of denominational religious instruction, remain substantially unaltered and denominational religious instruction continues to be given as before subject to the rights of parents, who so desire, to have their children given agreed Syllabus instruction. Schools in this category are aided schools".

Another paragraph states: "The results of the provisions of the Act are not only to make available the financial assistance needed by the voluntary schools to enable premises to be brought up to modern standard and enable these schools to play a full effective part in the primary and secondary school system, but also to retain liberty for the teaching of the tenets of the Church with which they are associated by teachers of their own faith"

Though the Catholics are only a little more than three millions in England, which gives a percentage very much lower than the percentage of Catholics in Travancore, the mother of Parliaments has recognised the justice of their demands.

Coming nearer, let us take the case of schools in Ceylon. We have referred already to the misleading impression created by the A. P. I. message. I have with me the full official text of the grant-in-aid rules as passed by the State Council on 28th August 1945. From the 1st of October this year, free system of education came into force in that country by virtue of which in all State schools and colleges, students will get free education from the infant class to the highest University class. The private schools also can come into the scheme and they are given time till 1948 to do so. Some private schools have already accepted the provisions of the

new scheme. If they come into the scheme they will not be able to levy any fees from students except game fees. Even after the private schools come into the scheme they will be under private managements and will get the full pay of the teachers according to the scale fixed by the Department as grant from the State. This will be paid direct to the teacher or through the manager. In vernacular schools, as maintenance and equipment grant, a rupee per student will be paid by the State. There is also no meaning in saying that after 1948, the education imparted in the schools of Ceylon will be without religious bias. The trouble in Ceylon was that the State Council wanted too much religious bias. The State Council passed a resolution that all religions should be taught in all schools. Against this resolution there was a hue and cry raised not only by Christian denominations, but even by leading Muslim and Buddhist Priests. It is therefore considered as dropped. At any rate the rules of grant-in-aid passed in the State Council last August. do not say anything on the question of religion, The denominational schools will continue as dominational schools. To get grant amounting to the full pay of the teachers and other equipment grants. the only restriction imposed on private management is that they should not levy fees from students?

In British India as well as in the neighbouring State of Cochin, substantial grants are given for private primary schools. Why in Travancore alone should a new policy be adopted?

Misstatements by certain Hindu Leaders

A number of distinguished Hindus in British India have arrayed themselves against us. As far as I was able to see, not one of them has grasped the real nature of the controversy that is going on in Travancore. To this unfortunate result, certain remarks of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, in his Ambalapuzha Speech, I think are mainly responsible. The Dewan in the course of that speech asked: "Supposing the Nayar Service Society or the S. N. D. P. Yogam insisted that Christian or Muslim students coming to their schools should necessarily read the Bagavad Gita or the Ramayana or the sayings of Sri Narayana Guru, in their course of instruction, what would be the reaction of the Muslim and Christian communities? The difficulty of the problem is realised the moment it is stated in this fashion." Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer is an eminent lawyer: but what is the relevancy of this statement as far as the Catholic schools are concerned? We do not teach our Bible or any other religious books in our schools to Hindus, Muslims or non-Catholic students. We teach our religion only to our Catholic children and that only outside class hours, when non-Catholic children are quite safe in their homes. We have also to remember that, when the Ambalapuzha speech was made the Catholics alone were thought to be insisting on their management of their private primary schools. Is it to be wondered that outsiders were completely taken in by this misleading statement of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer especially because at Ambalapuzha Sir C. P. was speaking as the accredited representative of His Highness' Government.

The first victim was RT. HON. SREENIVASA SASTRI. Mr. Sastri came out with a long statement which was supplemented by another a few days later. His whole statement is based on the wrong assumption that we teach our religion to Hindu and Muslim students in our schools. If Sir. C. P. confined himself to the teaching of Muslim and Christian children, Bhagavad Gita or Ramayana, Mr. Sastri went a step further and asked: "If a Hindu Management has established a school in a locality and a Christian parent came along and asked for his son's admission, could the religious teacher properly compel the Christian boy to worship Ganesa and offer prayers to the Guardians of the eight quarters of Heaven"? The implication, of course, is that we are not only teaching our religion to Hindu and Muslim students but also insisting on their participation in our worship. Mr. Sastri makes Catholic managers say: "We are willing to admit non-Christian and non Catholic Christians where necessary, but such pupils should submit to our curriculum and our discipline' in all particulars." "There," adds Mr. Sastri, "lies the crux."

Again, according to him we want "all-round autonomy in respect of education and at the same time liberal financial support from the general taxes." He further observes "It would give to a Christian denomination deriving financial aid from the general revenues, the right to establish schools and colleges for the benefit of their own community and teaching their religion as a part of the compulsory curriculum even to non-Christian pupils." His whole article goes on in this strain, all on the wrong assumption that we teach our religion in our

schools to Hindu, Muslim and non-Catholic students. In his addendum Mr. Sastri has brought forward a new argument. All subjects of the State are liable to the general taxes. The State provides for education of all and all are welcome to it. Not content with or dissatisfied with the State system of education the Catholic community of Travancore would wish to have their own communal schools with liberty to educate their children which is one of the fundamentals of their creed. From the State's standpoint this is a luxury, and must be paid for by those who enjoy it.

Along with this, I would state another argument of Mr. Sastri which appeared in his first article. He therein states: "Modern conceptions too of national efficiency require the pupils to be thrown together indiscriminately in schools and colleges as a preparation for the efficiency and welfare on all sides of the entire community". I do admit that there is something in the latter argument. But what little you gain by the indiscriminate mixing of children for their education will be at the sacrifice of a much greater good. I shall take a parallel case. Mahatma and Rajaji are now advocating intermarriages between different sections in the Hindu community. There is nothing so conducive to the consolidation of the various sections, as intermarriages among them. An ardent Indian patriot may advocate intermarriages between followers of different religions so that the bitter communal feelings now existing in India may be completely eradicated. To achieve this goal quickly you may find him recommending substantial aids out of public funds, to those who enter into such mixed marriages and

also for the upbringing of children born of those unions. If such a national system of aided marriages is introduced, and, to achieve more rapidly the desired end, ingenious financial helps are provided to make the marriages as promiscuous as possible, a man who keeps out of the national system might complain: "I am paying tax like others. You give substantial aid out of public funds to those who enter into mixed marriages. My religion does not permit me to do so. I got nothing from the State at the time of my marriage. Nor do I get anything for bringing up my children. No doubt you are kind enough to recognise my marriage and also the legitimacy of my children, provided they are kept up to the standard of health, prescribed by the Health Department. In short, I have to pay twice because I do not give up my religion." The patriot will then turn round and say "You medievalist, you narrow-minded fool, we are on the highway of matrimonial progress in India. The national efficiency requires the people to be thrown together indiscriminately. You want to marry from your own caste and in your own religion. And you want to cling on to the same wife all your life. From the State's standpoint this is a luxury and must be paid for by those who enjoy it". I do not know if Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri will go as the Indian patriot I mentioned. Perhaps he will be content with nationalisation of education for the present. When will our leaders realise that there are certain limits beyond which the State ought not to go, and that the man does not exist for the State, but the State exists for the man.

When the new Education Bill for England was being discussed in the House of Commons, one member

proposed that the system of dual control should be abolished and all the schools be made State schools and brought under complete State control. In reply to this proposal she spokesman for Government said that they had no intention of introducing totalitarianism in that country. Mr. Sastri now comes forward as the exponent of a system that has been tried and found dangerous and discredited in the West.

Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri was surprised and grieved to read the recommendation regarding religious education by the Travancore Education Reorganisation Committee. The Committee unanimously stated in the report: "The Committee fully realises that religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education and that the absence of the properly organised religious education as a part of everybody's schooling leads to deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good." Mr. Sastri characterises this observation as medieval and narrow. And Sachivothama says, Mr. Sastri's word is final for most Indians. But I doubt whether Mr. Sastri's word will be accepted as equally final by any educationist outside India. Sir Michael Sandler holds a unique position to-day among the educationists in the world. In August 1929, the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship was held at Elsinore, Denmark. The fact that the organisers of this world conference requested Sir Michael to write the Introduction to the Record and Synthesis of the discussions at the Conference, will indicate the esteem he enjoys among the educationists in the world. In this Introduction Sir Michael has indicated his view about religion in education. He

writes: "Of all social services, education using the word in a wide and liberal sense is the most important. It is also the most costly of all those services, some of which, like the Health service and, as I think, the services of religion, are inseparable from it". Will Rt. Hon. Sastri dub MrS Michael also a medievalist and narrow-minded?

It is rather amusing to see our ultra-modern Mr. Sastri trying to confront the Missionaries assembled in London, with a counsel of perfection which is as old as Bhagavad Gita and taken from it. "The common people ought not to be disturbed in their faith and mode of conduct although it may seem to superior men as founded on error". "The essence of our religion", Mr. Sastri pointed out to the missionaries, "Is not that it lays down certain doctrines for universal acceptance, but that under the disposition of the Almighty Power, each person is fixed in a certain place in society, discharges certain well-understood functions and is a necessary part of one coherent community". All this may taste as sweet as nectar in the mouths of the gods of the earth; but it is wormwood to all others.

Rajaseva Dhurandhara, Dewan Bahadur, V. S. Subramanya Iyer, who also came forward to admonish the Catholics of Travancore, based all his arguments on the supposition that we teach our religion to Hindu, Muslim and non-Catholic children in our Schools. Mr. Subramanya Iyer has absolutely no excuse for taking up this stand. He was born at Vazhapally, a suburb of Changanacherry, and he spent all his time in Travancore. He was a leading lawyer, a Judge of the High Court, and for three years Dewan of the State. As he himself says, he is the

President of the Kerala Hindu Mission; and he was holding that position ever since that organisation came into existence some 10 years ago. Kerala Hindu Mission conducts 48 primary schools and he should be aware of what is taking place in rival institutions. Mr. Subramanya Iyer has spent practically his whole lifetime in Trivandrum itself. Here there are two old established Catholic High Schools, one for boys and the other for girls. Both schools are patronised by all sections of people, including Brahmins. Even to-day there are not less than 125 Brahmin girls studying in the Convent High School. Many of them are daughters of high Government officials. A few at least of these children must be daughters of some of Mr. Subramanya Iyer's friends and relations. If really we are teaching our religion to Hindu children in our schools, he as the President of the Kerala Hindu Mission would have had opportunities to make capital out of it. If, in spite of all these circumstances, Mr. Subramanya Iyer is ignorant of what is actually going on in Catholic schools, I can attribute it only to invincible ignorance.

His whole speech is directed against the Catholics. But when he refers to religion being taught to children not belonging to the religion of the management, he is not bold enough to assert that we Catholics, are guilty of that practice. This is what he says: "With regard to such schools there have been bitter complaints that, though children of several denominations may be in the school, some sectarian denominations insist upon all the children attending classes, when religious instruction according to the tenet of their own sect is given. From time to time Government have issued strictest instructions against that

practice. But it is said to have continued to a great extent." How indefinite are his statements here! Some sectarian denominations, he says, insist upon all children attending religious classes. If he thought Catholics are included in the expression "some sectarian denominations", why did he not say "some sectarian denominations including Catholics", since Catholics alone were the target of his whole speech? He further states "*it is said* to have continued to a great extent". Again I have to ask, said by whom, and where? Is it said of the Catholics? See how hesitant he is when laying the ground for implicating us. But later on he becomes positive and assertive.

His speech continues: "When the Government decided to bear the whole cost of primary education, they declared that schools under private management, if they wanted their cost to be met by Government, should totally discontinue the practice of giving religious instruction during school hours. It is this last decision that has given offence to Roman Catholic Authority." Unless these absolutely incorrect statements are meant for the consumption of people outside Travancore, I do not see their purpose. These statements cannot "be thrust down the throats" of the people of Travancore even with the aid of a battering-ram.

In another place in his speech Mr. Subramanya Iyer stated: "They (Catholics) can do it (teach religion) except during five or six hours of the day when children of many denominations and different religions are together in the school for secular education at Government's cost even if they do this. Government is prepared to meet the cost of the School." I do not know what is the authority of

Mr. Subramanya Iyer to make such an assertion. I have already shown in an earlier portion of my speech that the Government's decision published in Gazette Extraordinary and the speech of the Dewan at Ambalapuzha do not warrant any such judgement.

By Mr. Subramanya Iyer's statement that the Government is prepared to meet the cost of the school, some people might be tempted to think, that the Government at present meet all the cost of the running aided schools, including the cost of the building, yearly maintenance repairs, value of the site and the whole pay of the teachers. If we calculate the figures given in the Administration Report of the Education Department for 1119 M. E. (1943—1944) it will be seen that it costs Rs. 7. 9, a year to the Government to educate a student in the Departmental Malayalam and Tamil Schools, while for the education of a student in an aided school of the same type the Government incur an expenditure of only Rs. 2. 7 a year. Even Rs. 7. 9 cannot be taken as correct. For the expenses incurred for building schools, yearly maintenance of buildings which costs more than Rs. 1000 to construct, the pension of an army of retired teachers, all these which go under other heads, have to be taken into account before we can get at the correct figure: if all these items are added the figure may go up to Rs. 10 or thereabout. But the cost of Government to educate a student in an aided school is less than Rs.3/-

Mr. Subramanya Iyer wisely did not beat the big drum of the overwhelming consensus of public opinion. He studiously avoided that subject in his speech. Perhaps he knows the real nature of this public opinion, or it may

be, that, his community constituting only 1.23 per cent of the people of Travancore, he knows the danger of emphasising the popular support for any measure.

The Travancore Press

I have to say a few words about the part played and being played in the present agitation by two of the Malayalam Dailies of Trivandrum. *The Bharathi* and *The Kamudi* have taken a very aggressive attitude in the present controversy. Almost daily they come out with abusive articles on Catholics. The Catholics are seldom referred to in these papers without the qualifying epithet, *ignorant fanatic*, or *begotted*". Sometimes they indulge in even more offensive terms. Our Priests and Religious heads are depicted in lurid colours. I shall only refer here to a few specimens which will give you some idea of the journalistic proprieties they observe.

In *The Bharathi* of 19th September the following A. P. I. message was published in English as well as in Malayalam: "It is understood that the Bishop of Changanacherry has addressed a letter to the Secretary to the Travancore Government, stating that his Pastoral letter was issued following the examples of the apostles, that the sword and the bomb that were mentioned in his letter were the spiritual sword and spiritual atomic bomb; that the Pastoral letter was aspiritual exhortation to prayer, that there is no attack either explicitly or implicitly on the Government and that the Bishop has always inculcated in his Pastorals respect for constituted authority and has always stood against all movements tending towards disturbances of peace or tranquility of State. He finds no reason therefore for withdrawing the letter".

I shall now read certain comments from a leading article published in the some issue of that paper on this letter of the Bishop: "Those who are able to judge political affairs will consider this letter as an appology and not as an explanation.....since the letter indicates that the Bishop published the Pastoral in a spiritual sense, that he entertains a high opinion about the administration of His Highness' Government, that he has not expressed anything opposed to Government or with improper motives, and that he has not entertained any such ideas even in his thoughts, it becomes plain that the Bishop has reconsidered about his Pastoral and that the reflection of the guilt in his clear mind has created a peaceful atmosphere in his heart. His statements that those who look carefully inside and outside of the letter will find nothing to withdraw, and that expressions are used in a spiritual sense, can be considered only as an attempt to maintain his prestige outwardly. Actually the contents of his letter are a withdrawal. In our view we cannot expect a stronger admission of the guilt from a Bishop".

Most of you have seen the actual text of the Bishop's reply. A dignified refusal has become an appology and an admission of guilt! Perhaps the editor of *The Bharathi* might have thought that the actual text would not become available to the public in Travancore. In any case, even the A. P. I.'s garbled summary of the letter the paper, published, cannot warrant any of the foolish things said in the editorial.

The Bharathi of October 9, in its editorial page, published a report of a speech made by Rev. A. H. Legg at a Church Council meeting. One of the bold head-

lines under which the report is published reads: "GRANT IS NOT GIVEN TO THE SCHOOLS OF LONDON CATHOLICS". The Report states that in the course of a speech Rev. Legg mentioned that though the London Catholics have been agitating in England for a very long time for getting recognition and grant for their special schools, they have not succeeded so far. Since I could not believe that Rev. Legg would have made any such statement I wrote to him about it. In his reply Rev. Legg said: "I did not say that Roman Catholic schools in England do not receive recognition and grant from public funds. The reverse is, of course, the case". I understand the editor of *The Bharathi*, was present at the meeting which was held for the election of certain office-bearers, and the editor himself was one of the candidates who stood for the election.

Here is a sample of the headlines that are appearing in *The Bharathi* "A WORLD RENOWNED POLICY. REACTIONARIES WHO OPPOSE THIS POLICY SHOULD NOT BE LEFT ALONE= WORLD WILL PROCLAIM GOVERNMENT WEAK".

I shall leave *The Bharathi* with another extract from one of its editorials: "Is that the condition of Catholics? Do not their individual Churches conduct schools out of their huge capital and accumulate funds for the Churches by plundering the pittance of the school masters and starving them. Will this not amount to a horrible crime?"

The leading articles in *The Kaumudi* are more offensive and provocative. These articles are written to ridicule what the Christians hold most sacred. This

paper uses with impunity, expressions like these in its leading articles: "These accursed Catholics"—"These children of vipers" etc. A leading article written to ridicule the Catholic's demand for grant is concluded like this: 'Instead of proudly saying let these thirty pieces of silver be given to the Jews: we have our separate schools', they curse Sir C. P.'s Government and raise their voice so as to reach Rome and are getting ready to suffer martyrdom for that silver cash. Martyrdom for Government grant! Alas! Alas! Not for Christian schools"

Who wants then? What is wanted is grant. It is easier for the camel to pass through the eye of the needle than to enter the kingdom of God".

'The Kaumudi' published the A. P. I. news regarding the reply sent by the Bishop of Changanacherry to the notice issued to him by the Government. This was printed by 'The Kaumudi on the front page with bold headlines? "CHANGANACHERRY BISHOP ASKS PARDON".

There is much in common between *The Bharathi* and *The Kaumudi*. Apart from a Malayalam daily that has come into existence quite recently, we have only these two dailies in Trivandrum, which is the seat of a University and the Capital of a State, having the largest percentage of literates in India. The editors of both these Journals had the honour of being nominated to the present Legislature, to represent the fourth estate of the Realm; the editor of *The Bharathi* being a nominated member of the Upper House and the editor of *The Kaumudi* a nominated member of the Lower House.

The Catholics of Travancore are depicted in the two journals already mentioned and one or two others of like attainments as a set of ignorant and begoted bores, groaning under the oppression of a gang of still more ignorant and fanatical clergy. Some of the newspapers have even gone to the extent of advising Catholic young men to rebel against the clergy—complaints are heard that we do not understand the clearest pronouncements, even though repeated over and over again. Are we really such ignoramuses? Somehow we are succeeding fairly well in almost all walks of life in our country. We are running the largest number of educational institutions in the State. Among the literates we stand in the very forefront. Of the Travancore Christians who were returned elected to the Present Assembly 10 out of 14 are Catholics. Similarly, among the Travancore Christians who were returned by election to the Council, 4 out of 5 are Catholics. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer himself has on more than one occasion, exhorted the other communities here to follow the example of the progressive Syrian Christians in the State. Who are these Syrian Christians? About 60 per cent of these Syrian Christians on this coast are Catholics; and I believe our non-Catholic Syrian Christian brethren will not grudge conceding that we are in no way behind them, in agricultural, industrial, commercial, educational or any other endeavour. There is, however, one department of life where we do not hold our own. We are very few in the Government service. In all other respects, we have no reason to be ashamed of the position we hold in our country.

The Catholic Clergy

Now a word about our clergy. It may be that there are not many occasions for our clergy to come in contact with our Hindu brethren and so their real worth is not known to them. But we know our clergy and what they mean to us. Our clergy is the greatest asset we have. Here, as anywhere else, you will not find a body of men more educated and cultured than the Catholic clergy. A man who spends four years in a University after his School Leaving Examination comes out with one or two letters of the alphabet added to his name; and he is then considered an educated man by all. But our clergy has to spend eight years of intense study, after the School Leaving Examination, the minimum qualification prescribed for entrance into the Theological Colleges, before they could be ordained as priests. A good many go for priesthood after taking their degrees. During these 8 years they learn languages, the humanities, science in general, rhetoric, ethics, philosophy and theology. They have also to learn world religions. Our clergy are educated in different centres like Alwaye, Kandy, Mangalore, Poona, Shembaganoor, Kurseong and Rome. Picked men from such Religious Orders like the Jesuits, the Carmelites and others are the professors who teach and train them. Always a stream of students is going from here to the Urban College in Rome, which is an International Institution where students coming from all nations live together like brothers for all the seven years they have to undergo their studies there. You will find there, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, English, Irish, Americans, Negroes, Turks, in short, all nationalities. Our students while they are in Rome study together and often live together with

men like Archbishop Spellman of New York and Archbishop Griffin of Westminster, whom the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of England would be proud to count among their friends. Of our present Bishops, four had undergone their studies in that famous International College. Again, a good number of our priests are receiving regularly foreign newspapers and periodicals under the remailing system and they are thereby keeping themselves in touch with what is going on in other parts of the world.

Those who advice our young men to rebel against our clergy perhaps think, that our clergy constitute a caste by themselves, as it is the case in certain other communities. There is no priestly class among Catholics. Our Priests and Bishops are our own kith and kin, blood of our blood. They are either our uncles, brothers or sons. An uncle of mine was a Carmelite Priest and he was the Prior Gneral of their Order for some years; a grand-uncle held a similar position earlier. A first cousin of mine was a Bishop. And a son of mine is now studying for priest hood. This boy having stood first in the State of Cochin in the School Leaving Examination was the recipient of a gold medal and a scholarship from the State. But when he expressed a desire to study for priesthood I gladly gave him my consent. And ever since, whenever I had an occasion to speak, at the jubilee celebrations of priests or celebrations connected with their ordinations, to bring home the dignity of Priesthood to the common people, I have always said and that most sincerely, that I would be a far prouder and happier parent to see that son of mine working as a priest in a humble parish than to see him occupying the the high office of

the Dewan of Travancore. Those who advice our men to rebel against the clergy are asking them to revolt against their own uncles, brothers and sons. Can our advisers be employed in a more foolish enterprise than this?

Our cause is just and it is bound to succeed. Some of our Christian brethren had time to express their authoritative opinions after the necessary consultations and deliberations, required by their constitutions. As was expected, they have also taken up a position consistent with our own. I feel no doubt that all our Hindu and Muslim brethren also, who take their religion seriously, will fully appreciate our demand. Our cause, however, is being subjected to all kinds of misrepresentations by high pressure propaganda. But with all that, truth is truth and it will prevail.



Missionaries, Catholics and Education

BY

*His Lordship The Rt. Rev. Dr. P. Thomas,
Bishop of Bangalore.*

Christianity has been in existence in Travancore from the beginnings of the Christian era, long before the conversion of Christian nations, and in other parts of South India at least for four centuries. As Sir Radakrishnan says Christianity "has been so long in the country that it has become native to the soil". Christians have always lived in harmony and concord with their non-Christian neighbours.

And yet there is a growing tendency among some prominent Hindu publicists to discredit Christianity and look upon it as an exotic plant, an intruder and a destroying and denationalizing force. The purpose underlying Christian activities is well known. It is to announce the supreme value of the message of Christ and receive into the Church those who are honestly convinced of its truth. The peaceful proclamation of Christian beliefs is not and cannot be a cause of reasonable offence to any one. No one is bound to listen to it, much less accept it. The method made use of is one of moral persuasion—presentation of the objective truth of Christianity, relying on the good-will of the listener. Coercion is absolutely foreign to the spirit of Christi-

anity and emphatically condemned by the Church. Conversions are the result of the voluntary acceptance of Christian teaching.

An unfounded allegation.

There is no foundation whatever for the allegation that Christian preaching has "put contention" into any one's mind and brought "trouble and disorder where before harmony and family happiness reigned". Nor is there any evidence to support the declaration that "the zealots of religion are sometimes dreaded as enemies of the family and village happiness". On the contrary the Gospel of Christ has brought peace and happiness to the heart and produced in men self-denial, readiness for brotherly service and compassionate love. It has been a source of power for social regeneration, lifting hundreds of thousands of our countrymen from the slough of despondency and degradation assuring them of the glorious liberty of the sons of God. The only opposition to Christianity comes from a certain type of politicians as an act of disloyalty to their country and a betrayal of its interests.

What Nehru said in 1936

In this connection, may I draw attention to what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told a group of Catholics and Protestants in St. Mary's Hall in October, 1936. I was asked to lead the discussion and seek elucidation on certain points of vital concern to the Christian community. One of the questions raised was the attitude of the Congress towards conversion work. I wrote an

account of the meeting in the *Catholic Leader* of Madras, Oct. 8, 1936, and quote the answer of Pandit Nehru in indirect speech as published therein: 'Every religious group would be perfectly free to practise and spread its belief without let or hindrance . . . but anti-religious groups also would claim similar rights. There would be perfect freedom for all to spread their views, whether religious or anti-religious.

Selfless labour of Christian Missionaries

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri appreciates the "much-prized educational and medical aspects of Christian activity" but condemns definitely the Christian faith, which is their source and inspiration. The Christian philanthropic institutions are the fruit, the natural and concrete expression of the spirit and teaching of Christ. Has not Christianity stirred an army of men and women in every land to unselfish service? What could induce thousands of missionaries to leave their home and country, come to a land so different from theirs, learn the language of the people amidst whom their lot is cast, never visit again their homeland, and lay their bones under the sod in some remote, obscure village? It is only love for Christ, belief in His message and a burning zeal to make it known to those who are willing to listen to it.

The Right for a share of State funds

As for Catholic schools, they are not proselytising agencies. It has been the traditional and constant practice of the Catholic Church to impart religious instruction to her own children in schools and never to force it on the adherents of other creeds, even on non-Catholic Christians. Our claim for grant-in-aid for our schools is not a "fantastic" one. Our schools are primarily intended for our children, though freely thrown open to all other communities who choose to send their children to them. We make a notable financial sacrifice for their establishment and upkeep and thus relieve the State of a great burden. We claim for ourselves as well as for those engaged in similar tasks the right for a share of State funds directly in proportion to the extent of our educational activities. The question of grant-in-aid to private schools was settled nearly a century ago. In accordance with the policy set forth in the famous Educational Despatch of 1854, the Catholic Church started a great mass of educational work throughout the country. Crores of rupees have been spent for the construction, equipment and maintenance of our educational institutions of various grades from the primary school to the university college. In the State of Travancore, Christian agencies have been pioneers in the matter of education.

In November 1944, there were 2,093 aided primary schools (majority Catholic) with an enrolment of over

350,000 pupils as against 743 Government schools with 163,819 pupils. The cost to Government for a pupil is Rs. 8-4-0 per mensem in the Government school as against only Rs. 2-2-0 in the aided school. These schools have never been and are not centres of conversion work. The Lindsay Commission (Protestant) which visited 38 Protestant Art Colleges of the country in 1930-31, declared in their report that "it is not probable that the total number of baptisms from all these colleges in the last ten years would be more than, if as many as, a dozen".

Appreciation of Impartial Observers

Impartial Hindu observers and administrators have recognised the value and services of Catholic institutions to the country. Addressing the Latin Christian Conference at Ernakulam in January 1936, Sir R. K. Shanmukam Chettiar, then Dewan of Cochin, expressed his "real admiration for the great part played by the Catholic Church in the history of India. If to-day in the field of education the West Coast stood so unique, the achievement was due in no small measure to the great sacrifices the Christian missionaries had made. Even from this point of view alone the people of India ought to feel thankful for what the Catholic Church had done for them" He further eulogised the Catholic Church as "the symbol of orderly progress, a bulwark of established States.... During these troublous times, every Administrator must welcome the influence of that great institution.

Christianity has taken deep roots

What then has happened now to consider the Catholic Church a disturbing element, a cause of strife in the country? Christianity has taken deep roots in the soil and has the strength and vigour of natural growth and expansion. It is in no way connected with an alien or Western Government. We Catholics are not perturbed by the gloomy forebodings of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri that the whole edifice of Christian Missions will totter in the East", when money ceases to flow into the country from Britain.

Neutrality cannot be attained

Aided schools in Travancore did not receive, as Mr. Srinivasa Sastri asserts, 75 per cent. of the salary of the teaching staff, but such was the recommendation of the Educational Reorganisation Committee. We do not ask for any grant for the religious education of our pupils, but only for the secular education imparted to them in accordance with the standards fixed by Government. Further, State schools will not be religiously neutral schools. Neutrality cannot be attained, except in theory, for a religious colouring will be given to education in a professedly Hindu State. At one stroke and with startling suddenness, the new policy of the Travancore Government reverses century old practices and traditions, which may create chaotic conditions in the field of education.

State Council-Religious Instruction.

RESOLUTION

Mr. G. RAVI VARMA. This Council recommends to the Government that no sort of religious instruction should be given in schools except schools started and maintained for that purpose only and to leave that side of education entirely to the parents of the children.

MR. VELU PILLAI

MR. K. C. CHANDY. My Honourable friend Mr. Ravi Varma's resolution seems to start with a wrong assumption that Government is now giving religious instruction in schools, other wise I do not find any justification for the form in which he has framed the resolution. We all know that Government is not sponsoring any form of religious instruction in schools.

MR. G. RAVI VARMA: The report says that religious instruction and moral instruction are necessary, and they advocate the appointment of a special committee —

MR. K. C. CHANDY: My point is that as things exist now, religious instruction sponsored by Government, is not given in any of the schools in the State. But if the intention of the mover is that Government should take such steps as not to allow any particular community to make use of the school building for imparting religious instruction, whether it be outside school hours or not then I have to oppose it.

PRESIDENT: Order, Order.....

MR. K. C. CHANDY: I am thankful to the Chair for giving expression to the attitude of Government in this respect. Sir, as a member of the Catholic community I may assure the honourable members of the House and also the Government that we are not assuming an unreasonable attitude. We do not press our claim or right to impart religious instruction during class hours. I make it perfectly clear. But we cannot, I am sorry to state, bow to any ban imposed on us whereby we are prohibited from making use of our schools for imparting religious instruction. Government's attitude is now clearly expressed and if, in view of the statement by the chair the honourable mover of this resolution would withdraw it without pressing it he will do a good service.

MR. G. RAVI VARMA: A word of explanation, Sir, I moved this resolution in general principles and not with any particular reference to any particular institution.

MR. K. C. CHANDY: The honourable member states that he was prompted by general consideration. Well there is the recommendation of the Committee that religious instruction ought to be blended in the system of general education. Of course, they have avoided this issue, rather they have suggested a wider committee to go into the question. My honourable friend Mr. Raja himself stated that religion has a soothing effect in social life. All the educational systems of the world, whether, it be of the East or of the West, were founded on religion and in fact, education was an offshoot of religion. If my friend Mr. Raja's objection is against religion as such, then I

have only to sympathise with him. And he has not stated the reasons which weighed with him to say that there was an absolute need for abolishing religion from every day life.

PRESIDENT: I think the honourable member merely meant to say that the practical difficulty in the way of affording moral instruction to all the various communities and followers of various religions in the state, is so great that rather than attempt to go through the whole thing, it is much better to leave it to what may be called outside agencies and outside centres.

MR. RAVI VRAMA: Yes Sir, to separate schools and colleges.

MR. K. C. CHANDY: Well, Sir, the position taken by the honourable member is quite different. He says religious instruction should be conducted in separate schools and centres. So my friend is not agreeable even to grant us the right to teach religion in our own schools even outside class hours. That is how he has expressed himself.

Sir, of the 3709 schools in the state, only 1040 are departmental schools and 2669 are aided schools. Practically the whole of these 2669 schools are owned by adherents of Christianity. These schools are built by Christians and run by them mainly for the purpose of imparting religious instruction to their children according to christian principles and in a Christian atmosphere. It is true that in carrying out this object, they were asked to cooperate with Government in the matter of teaching the three R's and so the Christian missionaries undertook that part of general education. No body re.

grets that they did so. The results achieved therefrom so far have given to this state a position which we can feel proud of. The standard of pre-prominence in the educational field that Travancore enjoys is due to the contribution made by their schools. To deprive them of their right to teach religion will be unjust.

Another reason why I oppose this resolution is this: It has been admitted by the education reorganisation committee and also by my friend Mr. Raja that religion has a place in society and that it ought to find a place in education. But being a thorny problem the committee did not care to go into the question in a straight manner. But the fact is there that in our schools we teach our children to become good citizens and to achieve this object religion is of utmost importance. Take away religion from our educational system and we reduce it to a corpse.

Sir, as I submitted before all systems of education whether of the East or West, are founded on religion. What was the Gurukula system in India if it was not a harmonious blending of religion with the study of the three R's. What was the success of the Budhistic educational system as it found in the Thakshasila and Nalanda Universities which outlived the existence of Budhistic religion in India due to, if it was not religious training?

PRESIDENT: The honourable member will find that in Harshacharita relating to the Gurukula system and the accounts of the Nalanda University that they had separate professors of religion teaching the members of that religion and in fact one of the very famous discriptions in Harshacharita speaks of the fact that each one

of the professors were seated on a separate hill or a building and they were disputing and shouting so as not to disturb the shouting of the professors of the other religion. There is a very famous passage on that matter.

MR. K. C. CHANDY: I was pointing that religion was closely associated with the Educational system in this country. And in the West too it was just the same. In the middle ages it was the Church of Rome that was the pioneer in propagating education among the masses. It was she who founded the great universities of the world. If we come to modern times, we see that the great educationists of the world like Herbet, Pestalozzi, Maria Montessori, Dr. Ballard, Adam Smith, Professor Bagley, Pro. Thorndyke and Dr. Kilpatrick and the great leaders of modern thought like H. M. The Queen Empress' Mr. Churchill Lord Halifax and a host of others are stressing on the importance of religion in the educational policy of a State. Ofcourse in India because of the diversity of religions and owing to political considerations.....

PRESIDENT: Is the honourable member quite sure of Montessori?

MR. K. C. CHANDY: Yes Sir.

In India, because of political considerations and because of the variety of religious practices, it was considered advisable not to include religion as an item in the curriculum. But that does not mean that religion should be banished from our schools altogether and that those organisations and communities which have spent lots of money, time and labour for the purpose of educating their

children and who cooperated with Government in the teaching of the three R's should be prohibited from carrying on their mission of religious education of their children in the schools built and run by them. Certainly one religion should not be imposed on those of other persuasions.

MRS. T. KORA (Malayalam)

STATE COUNCIL PRIMARY EDUCATION

RESOLUTION

MR. K. A. RAMANPILLAI: This Council recommends to Government that Government be pleased to take the necessary steps to take up the whole control and management of primary education in the state as a preliminary measure to the introduction of compulsory education.

M R. K. G. NarayanaPanickar.....

MR. K. C. CHANDY: Sir, 43 educational experts in the state submitted a unanimous report on the education Re-organization question. One of the recommendations contained in that report is that two main branches of educational managements, Government and Private, should continue and every help and encouragement should be given to the private managements to improve their schools. My honourable friend Mr. Raman Pillai's resolution aims at throwing in to the wastepaper basket this unanimous recommendation of such a body.

PRESIDENT: I may say this at once, so that there may be no confusion on that matter. If this house is in favour of accepting the committee's resolution on the subject, and if Government must say at once that their policy would be that the selection of the teacher, the tenure of the teacher and the appointment of the teacher should be under the control of Government. In other words the Government will not be able to pay 75% of the salary of a teacher to a management.

MR. K. C. Chandy: I do not think that my honourable friend Mr. Ramanpillai was actuated by any envy or hatred towards the private school managements. But, I wonder if he has given the question his serious thought. One of the points which I would like to bring to the notice of this honourable House is the argument advanced by Mr. Raman Pillai that it is a necessary measure to the introduction of the scheme of primary education in the state. In countries where the scheme of primary education is enforced, there do exist private and aided schools. In America the Catholics contribute to the educational cess and yet they maintain their own denominational schools, and all of them conform to the State Regulations in the teaching of the three R's.

MR. KAINIKKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI.
Are those schools in America aided.

MR. K. C. CHANDY: In America they are given certain grants.

Therefore the argument that it is a necessary measure to the introduction of compulsory primary education is not tenable.

Secondly all the private schools in the State are already under State control. In these days, the managers of the private schools have been left with practically no authority. The authority has actually passed on to the head of the department and they are now simply at the mercy of the department and have to look up to them with hope or with fear according to the power in whose hands their welfare rests.

PRESIDENT.....

MR. K. C. CHANDY: The third reason why I oppose this resolution is that when viewed from the financial point also, it is not a sound proposition to take over the management of primary schools in the State. From the administration report of 1119 I find that there are 2,707 primary schools in the State of which only 734 are State-owned and the remaining 1, 973 are run by private agencies.

PRESIDENT: Those are primary and secondary schools too. Are they not?

MR. A. N. THAMPI: The Government run 734 primary schools, and the primary schools run by private agencies total 2,023.

MR. K. C. CHANDY: The number of students attending these departmental primary schools is about, '56, 000 and the number attending aided primary is about 3, 44, 000. Let us now consider the expenditure that is now incurred by Government under those two heads.

PRESIDENT: It is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 60 lakhs.

MR. K. C. CHANDY: In the case of Departmental schools the Government spend Rs. 12, 58, 652 ie., they are meeting an average cost of Rs. 8- per child. The total expenditure on grant in aid primary schools is Rs. 1044, 378. That is to say, grant given to the grant in aid schools for educating a child in the primary section is only Rs.3.

MR. A. NARAYANAN THUMPI: What is the rate of the grant paid now?

MR. K. C. CHANDY: It is some where about $\frac{3}{8}$ of a rupee. Sir, in the neighbouring state of Cochi. the grant is annas 14 for every rupee of expenditure incurred by the aided school but here it is only $\frac{3}{8}$ of rupee. If primary education is to be taken over by Government it would mean that Government will have to spend immediately an additional sum of Rs. 5/ per year on these 3, 44000.

Mr. G. RAVI VARMA: What is the teachers' pay?

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: I will come to that. Again is mentioned in the administration report that only 68- of the children of the school-going age are attending Primary schools now. Therefore, when the cent per cent of the children of the school-going age are also sought to be educated, Government will have to incur a very heavy expenditure every year.

PRESIDENT: There is no doubt that, if compulsory primary education is to be started by Government throughout the state it will be the largest single item in the budget. The only question is whether government should take it up.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: And this heavy expenditure will be outside the capital outlay that will be needed for assuming the existing primary schools. Of course, if I am owing a school and if Government are taking it over in equity I am to be paid compensation for it.

PRESIDENT: Why should we take it at all? We won't take over any school. We will start schools.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: Thus the capital outlay that will have to be incurred by Government will also be enormous. Besides, in assuming control of schools, there are certain inconvenience to be experienced. It is a known fact that all the primary schools run by Christians are attached to a church or religious institution.

PRESIDENT: Order, order, I think that about 60 to 70% of the primary schools were constructed by the people of the locality out of the funds subscribed by them. That is the information that I have now received. In that case, they are all public trusts and Government can take them over immediately. In the case of those which are purely private institutions, Government are not obliged to acquire them, and the private institutions may rest assured that Government will not, in all probability, acquire buildings of even a single private school. 60 or 70 per cent of the schools that have already been built by local effort will be taken over by Government and they will build schools, if necessary, for spreading primary education through the State.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: There is also another aspect to be considered. Almost all primary schools in the State are owned by Christians. They are generally attached

to or built in or around the church itself. It will be wounding the sentiments of a large section of H. H. The Maha Raja if

PRESIDENT: Order, order, I say we should not take over even a single institution of that kind. Neither will we purchase them nor will those buildings be interfered with. No primary school will be taken over unless the owners themselves hand it over. It is a definite matter of Policy in the pursuit of this ideal on compulsory primary education that Government will not acquire or purchase any buildings unless the managements themselves want to hand them over to Government. Govt. will not acquire or purchase even a single building adjacent to a church or adjacent to a temple. There are certain number of schools mosques. None of these school buildings will be acquired by Government.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: Even if the proprietary right in the school buildings is not acquired by Government the management may be taken over by Government

PRESIDENT: There is nothing to prevent the Government from starting a primary school within three yards of another primary school provided it is needed for compulsory primary education. We shall not take over the management of even a single school.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: The resolution recommends to Government

Mr. K. A. RAMAN PILLAI: It is my resolution.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: I was under the impression that it was a recommendation to Government that Government should take over the management of primary education in the State, ie., all the private schools in the State.

Mr. KAINIKKARA: The resolution is that Government should take over primary education.

PRESIDENT: He was probably referring to Mr. Narayana Panicker's motion viz, "This Council recommends to Government that they may take immediate steps to absorb all private managed primary schools under Government management and to abolish the system of withdrawing recognition if mismanagement or other irregularities are brought to their notice".

Mr. KAINIKKARA: He has not moved it.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: Mr. Raman Pillai's resolution contains the words "the control and management of education" and in considering that resolution I am perfectly within bounds if I go into the question of the difficulties that will be experienced by the proprietors of the existing private schools. Sir, the only ground put forward by the mover of the resolution is that teachers in the aided primary schools are not getting salary on a par with the teachers in the departmental schools. Well Sir, if the honourable member thinks that there is really a black market in the teacher's salary as well, I can just tell him that Government have provided adequate safeguards. I wish to draw the attention of the honourable members to Chapter 1, page 1

of the Administration report of the Education Department for 1119. "The grants in aid to the teachers (Of aided primary schools) are arranged to be disbursed by means of cheques to ensure direct payment to teachers". So, Government have already made arrangements to see that the teachers do get the full grant in aid that is given to them. Therefore that argument too cannot stand. Then I may also, in this connection, bring to the notice of this honourable House what the attitude of the Catholic Hierarchy in this matter is; I mean, as regards the payment of the teachers' salary. At page 18 of the Joint Pastoral

Mr. K. A. RAMAN PILLAI: On a point of order Sir. There are very many resolutions to be discussed and we have got only about two hours.

PRESIDENT: This is practically the fundamental thing in connection with education because, after all, I do not think there is large difference of opinion on many other matters in the Report. The main thing and the fundamental basis of the whole report is the introduction of compulsory primary education and the second point of nearly equal importance is the deflection of the High School in the direction of a polytechnic, in regard to which I find no resolution.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: I am thankful to the Chair for having told the honourable member that this is a very important subject.

PRESIDENT: I shall not stop discussion on this.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: In a Joint Pastoral Letter, issued by all the Catholic Bishops and Archbishops of Malabar, a copy of which I suppose is with the Government they say "At the same time it is the duty of the managers to see that the teachers are properly rewarded for their labour and to look to their material welfare to a reasonable extent, so that the latter may perform their duties unhampered by wants or privations". Sir, that is the direction of the Hierarchy, one which is to be obeyed by Catholic managers. Therefore the chance of the Catholic managers absorbing a portion of the grant to the teachers cannot also stand.

Fourthly, and this is the most important point on which I have to oppose this resolution, it is a measure which will interfere with the religious liberty of one-third of the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja.

PRESIDENT: How?

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: I know fully well, that it is not possible to explain within the limited time at my disposal, the Catholic view point of education. But I wish that this honourable House will realise that in education the Christians and we the Catholic Christians in particular have a definite aim. It is not a compulsory conversion of those who do not belong to our fold. Our attempt is just to bring up our children in an atmosphere of Catholic life and to educate them in the principles of the Catholic religion so that they may be enabled to become good children of God. Of course, all these matters have been adverted to at great length in the Joint Pastoral Letter to which I just drew the

attention of Government. I do not propose to reiterate them here. I would only say that the Catholic parent is bound by his religion to give a Catholic education to his child. The right to educate a child is a natural right of the parent and no State should interfere with that right.

PRESIDENT: We do not propose to do so. As I have made it perfectly clear, it is quite open to the Catholics or the Hindus or the Musalmans to establish Catholic Schools, or Hindu Schools or Muslim Schools, primary, secondary or Collegiate, in any locality and give them any instruction, appoint their own teachers, have their own curriculum always provided that the standards set for the State as a whole are not departed from. Subject to that, the only question now is whether in the case of primary compulsory education started under this scheme should be conducted by Government throughout the State. That will be without interfering with the separate rights of the various persons at their own costs and their own way to run their own institutions.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: I was stating Sir, that it is the right of the parent to educate his child. He has to decide to what school he should send his child, he has to decide what kind of education would be suitable to his child. Of course, I am prepared to concede that the State has a right in case of neglect by the parent, to see

PRESIDENT: But the State will not compel a person to send anybody to a State school, if there is another school run by Catholic clergy to which the parent wants to send his child, provided primary education is given to all children either by the Government or by any other agency. Government will not interfere.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: Sir, all our aided schools conform to the rules of Government. In the introduction of this new scheme they will only be too glad to co-operate with Government. But that is one thing, and taking over the management is another thing. That is why I am making all these observations. As I submitted it is our fundamental right to educate our children, and what is most important to us Catholics, is the atmosphere of the institution where our children are taught. That is why we are particular to send our children to schools under our management. That being our view, I submit, it will be wounding the feeling of a vast portion of the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja if Government decide upon taking over the management of schools run by us.

PRESIDENT: As I said, there is no question of that at all. I should be very sorry to have any honourable member of the house go away from this session with the idea that Government has got the intention of wounding the feelings of any body or interfering with the right of any body to educate their children in their own field and in their own way. I am still rather puzzled to account for the attitude of the honourable member when I have definitely explained that, realising

as I do, the belief in the Catholic mind that education imparted should only be catholic, and in a catholic outlook and perspective, Government do not propose to stand in the way of anybody sending their children to Catholic school provided the standard of general education of those schools conforms to the standards which Government have set in the matter, of reading, writing, arithmetic and other things. But what this resolution says, if the language is wrong it may be corrected or what Government's idea is that Government will take up the management of primary compulsory education if and to the extent to which they take it up, or are obliged to take it up they will run it themselves, finance it themselves, manage it themselves and be wholly responsible for the teachers, their salaries, their tenure of service, the school building and everything else. That is all.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY. I was trying to bring home to Government that we, Catholics are very particular of the atmosphere in which our children are taught.

PRESIDENT: Why should not the atmosphere continue? In other words, if there is no Catholic school, let us say in Thuckalay, the Catholics have to send the children to a Government managed school. Then of course the Government schools will have no catholic atmosphere. But supposing, in Nagarcoil or Kanjirapally or Kottayam there is a Catholic school there is nothing preventing a parent sending his child to that school, so that the atmosphere may be obtained. But what this government says is that if they run a school at Kottayam they will run it themselves.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: The atmosphere in a school is guided by the management of the staff of the school.

PRESIDENT: But why do not the management go on? I have told you very often not a single management will be taken over by Government. In other words primary schools will be run by all. Government will take over the management of a primary school, only if the Government starts a school and pay the teacher Rs. 20 / and the management pays Rs. 5/ that private school will close in about two days. I may tell you at once it is not the intention of Government to interfere with the perspective, the atmosphere and the religious background of any school. They are not going to take over or assume the management; only they are going to start schools through out the State construct their own buildings, pay their own teachers, and pay them pensions, provident fund and so forth. If the other schools also exist subject to the standards set, Government will only be glad.

SREY. THANKAMMA. (M.)

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: That is besides the question. Because the resolution is . . .

PRESIDENT: This is the resolution. "That Government . . ." There is no question of handing over the management at all. Primary education will be the duty of Government. And Government are not going to ask a single management, Hindu, Christian, Muslim to hand over their schools to Government. That may be taken as an unalterable policy of Government. But it may be that they will say that there must be a school for

every three square miles and the Government school will be located in a place within, say, fifty yards of the Catholic school and if that Catholic school with the Catholic children can subsist after the location of the Government school, by all means let it. But in all probability, I may say it is not likely to, excepting where the management is willing to put enough money into it, because of the necessity or obligation to preserve the atmosphere.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: But the wording of the resolution

PRESIDENT: If necessary, the wording may be changed. You may propose an amendment to change the wording. But either you are in favour of the general policy or you are not. If you consider that the wording of this resolution nullifies the policy of Government you may amend it suitably. But if you consider the policy of Government is wrong, by all means attack it.

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: I am in favour of the policy of Government to see that compulsory primary education is introduced in the State. But it is not the same thing as saying that I am in favour of the Government assuming the control or management of primary education. Sir, the other day President Truman stated that the State is the servant of the people. But my Hon. Friend wants to put the State as the master of the people. If accepted it will mean a denial of individual liberty. It is this stand, that I want to stress.

Mr. K. A. RAMAN PILLAI: May I point out that the State does greater service to the people by taking up the education?

Mr. K. C. CHANDY: That is my honourable friend's view. Let us not try it in this land ruled by an religious minded Maharaja and administered by a equally religious minded Dewan. With these words, I close.



Press Communique

The attention of the Government of Travancore has been specially drawn to two articles which appeared in the Press on 25th August, one in the 'Powradhwani', and the other in 'The Deepika' and also to a letter in the 'The Mail' of 30th August from the Rev. P. Carty, S. J. These communications, in terms of conscious or unconscious exaggeration and misrepresentation, condemn the resolutions of the two Houses of the Legislature and call upon Government to decline to accept and implement them. The facts are as follows:-

The Education Re-organization Committee in its recently published report eulogised the contribution made by private managements in all grades of education, and recommended that Government in its financial aid to private managements should in future concentrate upon the important problem of teachers' salaries. It is a well known fact that in a very large number of privately managed schools, the teachers receive nothing more than the Government grant, and in many cases not even that. This disgraceful and dishonest treatment accorded to large numbers of teachers has not been rectified in any way as a consequence of the joint pastoral letter of the Catholic Clergy of Kerala to which one of the articles refers.

The Committee accordingly proposed that Government should pay 75 per cent of the salaries of teachers in all privately managed primary schools; and that the

management should be expected to pay the remaining 25 per cent as early as possible; but in the case of schools already in existence, this should not be made a condition of recognition. When this recommendation was under consideration by the Legislature, it was pointed out by many members that if Government were to pay as much as 75 per cent of the teachers' salaries, whilst leaving it purely optional to the managements to pay anything more, it would be better and more equitable for Government to make themselves wholly responsible for ensuring an adequate living wage to all teachers.

Both Houses of the Legislature therefore resolved, *as an amendment to the recommendation of the Education Re-organisation Committee*, that Government should make themselves responsible for primary education throughout the State. This amendment was carried in the Assembly by 52 votes to 8 and the Council by 30 to 4; and it would have made no difference to the result in either House had the official members remained neutral. The large majorities by which the amendment was carried show that there is an over-whelming consensus of opinion that, if Government are to be called upon to aid primary schools to the extent recommended by the Committee, it is but a natural corollary for Government to make themselves entirely responsible for primary education. In the course of the discussion in the Legislature it was emphatically pointed out that, if Government were to assume this entire financial responsibility, it would be but logical and equitable for Government to control the appointment, promotion and conditions of service of the teachers whose full salaries they pay.

If Government accept the recommendation of the Assembly and Council, which are two Bodies widely representative of all shades of opinion in the State, and assume responsibility for the management of primary education, it does not necessarily follow that there will be no place for primary schools managed by private agencies. If Christians, or any other body of people, desire to conduct their own schools in their own way and for the benefit of their own body, they will be free to do so: and if such schools satisfy the standards of attainment prescribed by the Education Department, they will be granted recognition, but they will not be eligible for financial aid from Government. There are already schools of this kind recognised in the State.

The article under reference in the 'Deepika' says: "the educational problem is connected with the problem of religious freedom. Christians have their own schools so that their children may receive Christian Education. It is one of their fundamental rights". If Christians conduct their schools for this purpose and claim it as one of their fundamental rights, it may well be contended that it is also a fundamental duty on their part to pay for their own schools. Furthermore, it cannot, for a moment, be argued that non Christian pupils can or should be subjected to a purely Christian Education.

Remarks of this kind which are now appearing in the Press would appear to owe their ultimate origin to an encyclical (*Representanti*) published by Pope Pius XI in 1929. The terms of this encyclical cannot be accepted by the Government of an Indian State which is oblig-

ed to hold the balance evenly between the claims of different religions. A brief quotation from the encyclical will demonstrate the underlying policy and claims of the Catholic Church, which may well lead if these claims are implimented, to serious political and social disturbances. "It is the inalienable right", says the encyclical "as well as the indispensable duty of the Church to watch over the entire education of her children in all institutions, *public or private*, not merely in regard to the religious instruction there given, *but in regards to every other branch of learning and every regulation* in so far as religion and morality are concerned,In other words, the Church claims a divine right to *dominate schools*.

To all who know the difficulties arising from the conflict of religious faiths prevalent throughout India, it will be abundantly clear that no Government can tolerate the use of private educational institutions for purposes such as those indicated above. Such injunctions will, in the opinion of people who realise the dangers which would inevitably follow from religious strife in a country like India, be a convincing proof of the necessity for the control of education by a Government impartial as far as religion is concerned.

Special attention must be given to the fact that the majority of Christians, both in the Legislative Assembly and the Council, voted for the amendment that Government should take over the management of primary education. Only 8 members in the Assembly and 4 in the Council voted against the amendment, all of whom except one, were Roman Catholics. The attempt therefore on the part of the "Powradhwani" to enlist all

Christians against the proposed policy is mischievous and subversive. It is quite untrue to say that the proposal is an unpardonable insult to Christian educational endeavour" and will cause "grief to 20 lakhs of Christians". The non Catholic Christian Members of the Legislature welcomed and supported the proposal.

In his letter to 'The Mail', Fr. Carty makes the astounding and inaccurate assertions that the Travancore Assembly had decided "to drop religious instruction from the curriculum of all the schools in the State.....and to eliminate all private educational institutions". It is regrettable that Fr. Carty should rely on innaccurate information, and without any attempt at verification, give publicity to it in the Press. Religious instructions has never formed a part of the regular carriculum in schools but is allowed to be imparted in school buildings by all denominations to their own adherents outside school hours. Full advantage is taken of this privilege and it is only the presence in schools of children of many religious faiths and denominations which makes it impossible to give religious instruction to all school children during school hours. The Legislature has recommended no alteration of the present longstanding rule and practice.

To state, without any attempt to verify the statement, that the Legislature has decided "to eliminate all private educational institutions" is an abuse of the privilege of public controversy. The Proceedings of the Legislature are available for all to read. Far from eliminating all private educational institutions, the two Houses have accepted the Re-organisation Committee's recommendation that private agencies should be encourag-

ed. Even if the Government decide to make themselves responsible for the management of primary education, there will still be opportunities, as already pointed out for private agencies to show the sincerity of their professed convictions by conducting primary schools, whilst, as far as middle schools and high schools are concerned, the majority of which are already being run by private agencies, the position will remain unaltered.

Huzur Cutcherry,
Trivandrum. 31st August, 1945.

B. PARAMU
Secretary to
Government.

Re-printed from the Travancore Government
Gazette of 4th Sep. 1945.



Proceedings of the Government of His Highness, the Maharaja of Travancore.

Read—

1. The recommendations of the Travancore Education Re-organisation Committee with regard to the payment of grants to private managements of primary schools.

2. The relevant portions of the proceedings of both the Houses of Legislature at their meetings held in August 1945.

3. The Travancore Government appointed a Committee charged with the duty of enquiring into the existing educational system in the State and formulating proposals for its re-organisation with due regard to postwar developments. The Committee submitted its report in March 1945, and thereafter the Government, in pursuance of their undertaking to this effect and for the purpose of eliciting responsible public opinion, placed the Report before both the Houses of the Legislature.

4. Dealing with the topic of primary education the Committee had made a recommendation that Government should pay to private managements of primary schools a grant equal to 75 per cent of the teachers' salaries and they further proceeded to state that although the managements are expected to pay the remaining 25 per cent, this payment need not be made a condition of recogni-

tion for schools already in existence. It has been recognised on all hands that one of the fundamental problems relating to primary education in the State is that connected with the status and remuneration of the teachers, without an improvement of which no progress can be achieved in this field.

5. The two Houses of the Legislature, after an exhaustive discussion, resolved that Government should make themselves responsible for primary education throughout the State and should for this purpose take up the control and management of primary schools. This resolution was carried in the Sri Mulam Assembly by 52 votes to 8 and in the Sri Chitra State Council by 30 votes to 4. In support of this position Government have also received deputations and representations from several public organisations and from bodies representative of the teachers in primary schools.

ORDER R. DIS. NO. 1324/45/EDN. DATED
TRIVANDRUM, THE 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1945.

Having bestowed their anxious consideration on the subject, Government have come to the conclusion that the responsibility of imparting primary education throughout the State devolves upon and has to be shouldered by them and they have accordingly decided to assume the control and management of primary education with the definite object of making such education both free and compulsory within as short a period as practicable; and they have instructed the Director of Public Instruction to formulate detailed proposals on the basis of a ten-year programme for implementing this decision.

In view of the agitation sponsored by certain organisations and the misconception that, notwithstanding what has been stated publicly more than once by and on behalf of the Government, still persist, Government wish to make the following points clear:—

1. Private agencies now conducting primary schools in buildings and premises belonging to them will not be called upon to surrender those buildings and premises to Government, nor will Government take any steps towards the closure of such schools so long as they conform to the general curriculum that will be formulated in the course of implementing the above decision of Government.

2. Government's policy will be to build primary schools on the basis of a type-design to be selected for the purpose.

3. Government will be willing if the managements so desire, and if they are prepared voluntarily to hand over any of their buildings and premises to Government, to acquire them if and only if such properties can be conveniently used in conformity with Government's policy or converted into the type-design already referred to and if they possess such playgrounds and conveniences as will enable these premises adequately to be utilised for the purposes of Government. In general, however, Government will not be anxious to acquire any buildings, even if voluntarily offered, as in their opinion it is much better to design new buildings, lay out playgrounds and put up sheds for the noon-feeding of children where necessary, than to acquire and then probably to demolish existing buildings:

4. Where, as has been represented to Government in several instances, primary schools have come into existence as a result of philanthropic effort on the part of the local public, Government will exercise their powers under the law for the purpose, if need arises of utilising premises vested in the existing managements who are trustees for the public.

5. It follows from the above decision of Government that they are not anxious to dispossess or to interfere with the management by private agencies of primary schools, whether those agencies are communal, local, or religious in character. Government desire to make it absolutely clear that it is quite open to any body or organisation, interested in promoting particular religious, social or educational creeds or in pursuing specific educational programmes, to run their own schools with such objectives.

6. Government also retain the fullest discretion to give such encouragement and support to any pioneering educational enterprise, as many give useful instruction auxiliary or supplementary to the Government curriculum.

7. Government, however, in consonance with their declared policy of religious neutrality, do not propose to give any grant to primary schools run specially or primarily for the purpose of imparting specific types of religious education. In this connection Government cannot but bear in mind that in the vast majority of cases, primary schools run by denominational or religious bodies are also attended by students belonging to communities or religions other than those of the managements. In the

nature of things Government cannot be expected to subsidise directly or indirectly, the imparting of religious education to one portion of the pupils in any school. Government have, therefore, decided that while they have no objection to private agencies conducting primary schools for their own religious or sectarian purposes, such schools, not being within the general scheme of primary education, will not be entitled to the benefit of the grants available for the purpose of promoting primary education in the State.

(By order B. PARAMU,
Secretary to Government.

(Re-printed from the Travancore Government
Gazette Extraordinary, dated Trivandrum.

Wednesday, 12th September 1945.
 27th Chingom 1121.)



Extracts from the Report of the Travancore Education Re-organization Committee

Contribution made by private agency.

The Committee considered the great contribution made by private agencies to all grades of education in the State. In primary stage while there are 883 departmental schools with 5,448 classes, 5,878 teachers, 1,91,558 pupils and 2,05,636 school places, there are 2,169 private schools with 9,502 classes 9,854 teachers, 3,63,336 pupils and 4,36,897 school places. In the middle school stage while there are 184 departmental schools with 813 classes 1,128 teachers 31,533 pupils and 46,904 school places, there are 228 private schools with 871 classes 1,069 teachers, 32,759 pupils and 52,635 school places. Thus about two-thirds of the primary school pupils and more than half the middle school pupils are in schools provided by private agencies.

From these figures it is clear that a very considerable and worthy contribution to primary and middle school education is made by private agencies, and that the State can not afford to lose this valuable asset. Although the introduction of compulsion may involve the opening of new schools by Government wherever necessary, every help and encouragement should be given to private managements to improve their schools and to open new ones. No private managements, however, should be per-

mitted to open new schools unless at the time they apply for such permission they are already paying their teachers at least the minimum salary given in departmental schools.

As a concomitant to the present policy of the Department to eradicate inefficient and illmanaged schools—a policy which we have recommended should be continued—we are definitely of opinion that well conducted and efficient schools should be generously aided by Government.

Whilst this recommends the adoption of a generous grant-in-aid system, it cannot go into the question, as to what the details of this system should be. As far as salaries are concerned, however, the Committee accept the principle that all teachers whether in Government schools or private schools, should receive the same rates of salary; but in recognition of the additional financial burdens which the new proposals impose on private managements, we recommend that Government should pay them a grant equal to 75 per cent of the salaries prescribed and that although the managements be expected to pay the remaining 25 per cent as soon as possible, this need not be made a condition of recognition for schools already in existence.

IV RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

The committee has decided not to offer recommendations on the important problem of religious instruction in schools. The Committee fully realizes that religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education, and that the absence of properly organized religious instruction as a part of every one's schooling leads to defici-

ency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good. We feel, however, that this very important problem may more profitably be dealt with by a body specially constituted for the purpose.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

III. PRIVATE MANAGEMENTS.

The two main branches of educational management, viz., Government and private, should continue.

On the one hand, Government should have adequate control over all private agencies engaged in educational work in the State, on the other hand, there should be provision for liberal grant-in-aid.

The committee accepts the principle that all teachers, whether in Government schools or private schools should receive the same rate of salary, and that in respect of conditions of service and security of tenure there should be no distinction between the Government school teachers and the private school teachers.

As a practical measure, in primary schools Government should pay a grant equal to 75 per cent of the salaries of the teachers, and although managers are expected to pay the remaining 25 per cent this need not be made a condition of recognition in the case of schools already in existence. No private management however, should be permitted to open new schools unless, at the time they apply for such permission, they are already

paying their teachers the minimum salary given in departmental schools.

In the case of middle and high schools if the management is prepared to conform to the departmental rules regarding fee collection, pay of teachers, equipment, etc, and remit all collections in the Government Treasury, the Government should make up the deficiency of the teachers' salaries up to 75 per cent, the payment of the teachers' salaries by the management being the first charge on the fee income.

When private school teachers are recruited to Government service a proportion of their service in private schools should be taken into consideration for the purpose of calculating their service and pension.

Government should make good the whole loss to the management consequent on fee concessions granted according to Government orders.

In cases where Government is satisfied as to the need of a new school, a private agency, willing and competent to undertake the work, may be assisted with a grant towards the initial capital expenditure.

Government may assist private managements in the acquisition of lands for approved educational purposes if Government is satisfied that acquisition is necessary.

The benefits of the licensed Teachers' Provident Fund should be made compulsory for all private school teachers, who do not subscribe to a recognized Provident fund.

A Travancore School Managers' Association may be established with the recognition of the Director of Public Instruction.

EXTRACTS FROM H. H. PIUS XI'S ENCYCLICAL

1. Again it is the inalienable right as well as the indispensable duty of the Church, to *watch over* the entire education of *her children*, in all institutions, public or private, not merely in regard to the religious instruction there given, but in regard to every other branch of learning and every regulation *in so far as religion and morality are concerned*.

2. Nor should the exercise of this right be considered undue interference but rather maternal care on the part of the Church in protecting her children from the grave danger of all kinds of doctrinal and moral evil. Moreover this watchfulness of the Church not merely can create no real inconvenience, but must on the contrary confer valuable assistance in the right ordering and well-being of families and of civil society; for it keeps far away from youth the moral poison which at that inexperienced and changeable age more easily penetrates the mind and more rapidly spreads its baneful effects.

3. The second title is the supernatural motherhood in virtue of which the Church, spotless spouse of Christ, generates, nurtures and educates souls in the divine life of grace, with her sacraments and her doctrine

4. "The child is naturally something of the father.....so by natural right the child before reaching the use of reason is under the father's care.

Hence it would be contrary to natural justice if the child, before the use of reason, were removed from the care of its parents, or if any disposition were made concerning him against the will of the parents. And as this duty on the part of the parents continues up to the time when the child is in a position to provide for itself, this same inviolable parental right of education also endures.

5. On the other hand so jealous is she of the family's inviolable natural right to educate the children, that she never consents..... to provide for their (the children of infidels) education against the will of the parents, till such time as the children can choose for themselves and freely embrace the faith.

Government's Notice

issued to

H. E. The Bishop of Changanacherry

By

The Government of Travancore

R. O. C. No, 3824/46/Edn. Government of Travancore.

HUZUR CUTCHERRY,

Trivandrum, 6th September. 1945

From

The Secretary to government.

To

The Rt. Rev: Mar James Kalacherry, Ph. D., D. D.,

Bishop of Changanacherry

Rt. Rev: Sir,

In the september and October issue of the *Veda-pracharamadhyastan*, Book 18, Lekkams 3 & 4, a Pastoral letter No. 123. is published as having been issued on August 15, 1945, under your signature. The letter is published at pages 25 to 33 of the above magazine. You have also issued a command in that letter that it should be read in every church, after service, on the next two Sundays.

This letter is prefaced with a quotation from the Holy Scriptures (St Luke XXII-36, 38). It stated that you have yourself unsheathed one sword and that the necessity to use the remaining spiritual sword—atomic bomb—in your possession has arisen, as also the occasion for those who have purse to take them out. The letter goes on to state that if the primary rights of the individual are affected to the slightest extent, as a result of the socialistic policy of Government, nature will grow

angry with the Government, rouse up all the forces under the sun, and enter the arena to wipe out from the face of the earth the unjust authors of nationalisation. You attack the Government both explicitly and implicitly, and compare the Government's alleged policy of nationalising schools of the State with Hitlerism, Nazism and Fascism.

The policy of the Government has been made absolutely clear more than once, both on the floor of the Legislature and elsewhere. That policy has been deliberately misinterpreted in the letter under reference. There is bitter attack on the members of the Legislature and imprecations on their heads for doing their duty. The name of the Sovereign has been needlessly brought into the discussion in a most improper manner.

Government are advised that the whole of this objectionable letter is subversive and seditious, is calculated to bring into hatred the duly constituted Government of this State and to cause communal bitterness and strife leading to violence. Government, therefore, are constrained to ask you to withdraw this publication and to express open regret for having published it. If you do not do so within a fortnight after the receipt of this communication, Government will have no alternative but to take such action as they may be advised to adopt in the circumstances.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/ **B. Paramu**

Secretary to Government.

Bishop's Reply

Sent to
The Government of Travancore
By
H. E. The Bishop of Changanacherry

CHANGANACHERRY,
September 17, 1945.

From

The Rt. Rev. Dr. James Kalacherry, Ph. D., D. D.,
Bishop of Changanacherry

To

The Secretary to Government,
Trivandrum

Ref. R. O. C. No. 3824/45/Edn. Dated
Huzur Cutcherry, Trivandrum, 6-9-'45

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter quoted above, referring to my Pastoral No. 123.

Following the Apostles' example, Bishops send letters called pastorals to their flock and those pastorals are always read to the Faithful in all the churches of their respective dioceses. I have issued on several occasions pastoral letters to my people, and I am bound to do so when necessity arises. The pastoral letter No. 123, of August 15, 1945, which is referred to in your letter cited above, is one of such pastorals issued by me as Bishop of Changanacherry to the faithful of my Diocese.

I am amazed at the interpretation given to the words in my Pastoral, and I reject such interpretation as wrong and fallacious. An unbiassed reading of the pastoral will show that I speak of spiritual sword, spiritual ato-

mic-bomb, and that the letter is a spiritual exhortation to prayer so that the dangers threatened may be warded off.

A perusal of the letter will show that there is absolutely no attack either explicitly or implicitly on the Government. If my observations are suggested by the resolutions passed by the peoples' representatives in the Legislature, that does not mean that they are suggested by the Government. It is the right of every individual to express his own opinion about the actions of popular representatives and the reference to them in my letter is nothing but an honest evaluation of those actions.

The name of His Highness the Maharaja had to be mentioned, as I sincerely believe that the suggestions of the representatives of the people will be a stain on His Highness' good name, glorious reign and traditional policy of religious tolerance. Your observation that the name of the Sovereign has been needlessly brought into the discussion in an improper manner indicates that Government have failed to understand the spirit of the pastoral or the significance of the points discussed therein. I vehemently protest against your bringing in the name of the Sovereign as a handle for the unwarranted stand you have taken.

I take this opportunity to state that the advisers of Government are entirely mistaken if they have thought that the pastoral is objectionable, subversive or seditious. It is neither calculated to bring into hatred the duly constituted Government of the state nor to cause com-

mmunal bitterness or strife leading to violence. I repudiate the charges mentioned in your letter. I may also point out that in pursuance of the principles of the Catholic Church, I have always inculcated in my pastorals respect for constituted authority and I have always stood against all movements tending towards disturbance of peace or tranquillity of the State.

I do not find any reason either for withdrawing my pastoral under reference or for expressing any regret for having issued the same.

Yours faithfully,

† James Kalacherry

Bishop of Changanacherry.



Educational policy in Travancore

JOINT STATEMENT BY CHRISTIAN LEADERS

While deploring the surging tide of communal bitterness in the State in respect of the introduction of a policy of free compulsory primary education, we desire to point out that the Christian - Non-Catholic as well as Catholic - position in regard to it is either misunderstood or misrepresented. Christianity far from being against the spread of education has for nineteen centuries stood for its promotion throughout the world and no fair minded person can challenge the claim advanced by Christians of having been pioneers in the field and as such responsible in a large measure for the present level of literacy in Travancore. While warmly welcoming the introduction of free compulsory primary education, they do not see the way to subscribe to the demand that Private Agencies should of necessity be eliminated from the field. While reaffirming the view, boldly subscribed to by non-Christian as well as Christian members of the Travancore Education Reorganisation Committee, 'that religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education, and that the absence of properly organised religious instruction as a part of every one's schooling leads to deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good', they wish it to be realised that their educational institutions are not designed as agencies for proselytising children of other religionists. That their institutions, be they Primary or Middle

or High Schools or Colleges, have always striven and will continue to strive for imparting cultural education in a definitely Christian atmosphere is admitted.

Under the existing system, no religious instruction is imparted in Christian institutions except outside class hours and Christians are not pleading for any change in that respect.

While maintaining that a Christian parent, as much as a non-Christian, has the inalienable right to impart to his children such religious instruction as he believes is essential for equipping them for the life ahead, Christian educational institutions have not so far compelled any non-Christian child to attend classes held for imparting religious instructions; nor do they now plead for permission to so compel.

While Christian Churches and Missions have been running schools, "for their own religious or sectarian purposes", "specially or primarily for the purpose of imparting specific types of religious education", (such as theological institutions) at their own cost and without reference to the Government, they maintain that they have a legitimate claim to obtain liberal grants-in-aid from the State for their Primary Schools for secular education, so long as they conform to the standard and curriculum as may be prescribed from time to time by Government in that behalf irrespective of whether or not they impart religious instruction to their children outside school hours.

It is our considered opinion that under conditions now prevailing, the proper course would be to adopt the

report of the Travancore Education Reorganisation Committee and take early steps for implementing their recommendation.

Keeping in mind the circumstances that owing to historical reasons, the teaching of the vernacular in a large measure involves instruction in Puranas and other Hindu religious literature the plea advanced by Christians is in effect one for the recognition of the rights of religious minorities, the acceptance of which principle is absolutely essential for promoting communal harmony and instilling confidence in the minorities, we would earnestly appeal to the communities in the State to appreciate the problem in its proper bearings and not to provoke communal bitterness by any unfair anti-Christian agitation, at a time when the entire energies of the citizens of the State have to be utilized for the onerous tasks lying ahead of us.

Sd) C. K. Mani B. A. B. L.,

Secretary. Malankara Syrian Church Youth Movement
(Trivandrum)

Sd) M. M. Thomas B. A.

Secretary, Mar Thoma Syrian Yuvajana Sevasakhyam
(Trivandrum)

Sd) T. C. Idicula B. A.,

Secretary, Y. M. C. A; Trivandrum.

Sd) K. C. George M. A. L. L. B.,

Member: Council of the Syrian Mahajana Sabha,
(Trivandrum)

Sd) Mrs. K. A. Mathew B. A.

Nanthencode, Trivandrum.

Sd. A. K. Thampy B. A.,

Fletcher House, Trivandrum.

- Sd) Rev. L. W. Brown M. A.,
President, Student Christian Movement Trivandrum.
- Sd) K. George B. A.,
President, Y. M. C. A, Trivandrum. (Retired Chief
Secretary to the Government of Travancore)
- Sd. K. A. Mathew B. A.,
Secretary, Student Christian, Movement of India
Burma & Ceylon.
- Sd) Miss. R. A. Philips B. A.,
Secretary, Y. W. C. A. Trivandrum.
- Sd) Miss. Elizabeth Abraham B. A.
Secretary, Y. W. C. A. Trivandrum.
- Sd) A. J. John B. A. B. L.,
Advocate, Trivandrum.
- Sd) K. T. Thomas B. A. B. L.,
Advocate. Trivandrum.
- Sd) K. S. Joseph B. A. B. L. M. L. C.
Advocate, Trivandrum.
- Sd) Rev. K. A. Varughese,
Mar Thoma Church, Trivandrum.
- Sd) Rev. Abraham Koshy,
Christ Church. Trivandrum.

TRIVANDRUM,
Sept. 29, 1945.

Change of educational policy in TRAVANCORE

The Metropolitan Archbishops of Ernakulam, Trivandrum and Verapoly, having Jurisdiction over Travancore, have in the course of a letter to the Government of Travancore, on their own behalf and on behalf of the nine Bishops in Travancore, made the following

STATEMENT

Our attention has been drawn to a resolution passed recently by the Legislatures to the effect, that

“Government should take up the whole control and management of Primary Education in the State as a preliminary measure to the introduction of compulsory education”,

as also to the Government Press Communique published on August 31, 1945, and to an item of news published by the Associated Press of India to the effect that Government have issued a notice to His Lordship the Bishop of Changanacherry, calling upon him to withdraw a Pastoral Letter issued to the Catholics in his Lordship's Diocese.

The communique replies certain criticisms made about this resolution. The character and implications of this resolution as well as the rights and duties of Catholics in relation to Christian education are discussed in a Pastoral Letter of His Lordship the Bishop of Changanacherry with the hope that Government may not accept the resolution and with an exhortation to the Faithful to pray that the situation contemplated may not arise.

Having noted certain tendencies early enough, we, the three Archbishops, together with all the nine Bishops, having jurisdiction in Travancore and Cochin, had issued so early as July 1943, a Joint Pastoral Letter on "Catholic Education", explaining the real stand of the Church on the question of education. We do not want to repeat. But it is only fair that there should not be any room for incorrect information or wrong impressions. Under the Canon Law of the Church, the parents as well as all those who take their place, have their right and most serious obligation to provide for the religious, moral, physical and secular education of their children (Canon 1113 & 1372). Children must be instructed according to their age, in Christian doctrine and the young people must be given a fuller religious training (Canon 1373). Catholic children shall have their education in Catholic schools but attendance at non-catholic schools may be tolerated by the Ordinary alone and that under determined circumstances and special precautions (Canon 1374). Pope Pius XI, therefore, in the Encyclical on 'Christian Education' has definitely declared that,

"It is the inalienable right as well as the indispensable duty of the Church to *watch over* the entire education of *her children*, in all institutions public or private, not merely in regard to the religious instruction there given, but in regard to every other branch of learning and every regulation in so far as *religion* and *morality* are concerned".

We have italicised certain expressions in the above quotation, just to correct the inaccurate interpretation given to this passage in the Press Communiqué. The Church claims the right and duty to *watch over* the education of *her children* in so far as *religion* and *morality* are concerned, and not to *dominate schools* as the Communiqué says. On the other hand, the Encyclical *explicitly* states that the Church does not interfere

"with the regulations of the State, because the Church in her motherly prudence is not unwilling that her schools and institutions for the education of the laity be in keeping with the *legitimate* dispositions of civil authorities; she is in every way ready to co-operate with this authority and to make provision for a mutual understanding, should difficulties arise".

Accordingly, Catholics have all along been maintaining their own schools in conformity with the State Education Code and imparting religious instruction to *Catholic pupils*. Pupils of other denominations are never asked to attend religious instruction in Catholic

Schools, there has never been nor can ever be occasion for any religious strife on account of religious instruction being given to Catholic children in Catholic schools as directed in the Encyclical. The following passage from the Encyclical is very relevant to the question.

"And let no one say that in a nation where there are different religious beliefs, it is impossible to provide public instruction otherwise than by non-denominational or mixed (interdenominational) schools. In such a case it becomes the duty of the State, indeed, it is the easier and more reasonable method of procedure to leave free scope to the initiative of the Church and family, while giving them such assistance as justice demands. That this can be done to the full satisfaction of families and to the advantage of education and of public peace and tranquillity, is clear from the actual experience of some countries comprising different religious denominations. There the school legislation respects the rights of the family and Catholics are free to follow their own system of teaching, in schools that are entirely Catholic. Nor is distributive justice lost sight of, as is evidenced by the financial aid granted by the State to the several schools demanded by the families".

Existence of different religious denominations is therefore, no ground to deny the freedom of Christian education, nor is there any ground in the suggestion made

in the Communique that non-christian pupils can or should be subjected to a purely Christian education. This suggestion is probably the result of not knowing what the church means by the term "Christian Education". The Encyclical refers to the true nature of Christian education in the words of Pope Leo XIII.

"It is necessary not only that religious instruction be given to the young at certain fixed times, but also that every other subject taught be permeated with Christian piety. If this is wanting, if this sacred atmosphere does not pervade and warm the hearts of masters and scholars alike, little good can be expected from any kind of learning and considerable harm will oft en be the consequence".

The Encyclical makes it further clear that the claim of the Church is no interference with the State.

"Nor should the exercise of this right be considered undue interference, but rather maternal care on the part of the Church in protecting "her children" from the grave danger of all kinds of doctrinal and moral evils".

Nor is it claimed as political right.

"Let it be loudly proclaimed and well understood and recognised by all, that Catholics no matter what their nationality, in agitating for Catholic schools for their children, are not mixing in party politics, but are engaged

in a religious enterprise demanded by conscience”.

We have noted above only what the stand of the Church is, and not why it should be so. Those grounds are elaborately given in the Encyclical and summarised in our joint Pastoral Letter. The Travancore Education Reorganisation Committee which consisted of representatives of Government, of the Legislatures, and of the several educational interests after taking into consideration all the material facts and circumstances and the educational policy and principles of the different classes of people have come to the conclusion that,

“The Committee fully realises that religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education, and that the absence of properly organised religious instruction as a part of every one's schooling leads to deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good. We feel, however, that this very important problem may more profitably be dealt with by a body specially constituted for the purpose”. (Report of the Committee page 116).

“The Committee considered the great contribution made by private agencies to all grades of education in the State..... about two-thirds of the Primary school pupils and more than half the middle school pupils are in schools provided by private agencies. From these

figures it is clear that a very considerable and worthy contribution to primary and middle school education is made by private agencies, and that the State cannot afford to lose this valuable asset. Although the introduction of compulsion may involve the opening of new schools by Government wherever necessary, every help and encouragement should be given to Private Managements to improve their schools and to open new ones". (Report pages 19 & 20.)

On the question of financial assistance the Committee states:

"While this Committee recommends the adoption of a generous grant-in-aid system, it cannot go into the question as to what the details of this system should be. As far as salaries are concerned however, the Committee accepts the principle that all teachers whether in Government schools or private schools should receive the same rates of salary; but in recognition of the additional financial burdens which the new proposals impose on Private Managements, we recommend that the Government should pay them a grant equal to 75% of the salaries prescribed". (page 20)

This report was signed by the end of March 1945. In July, the Houses of Legislature resolved to take over the Primary schools. This resolution aims at interfering with the religious rights and liberties of

Catholics. The Communique claims that the resolution was passed by a large majority. It is significant to note that the Catholic members strongly voiced the Catholic position even as against the majority. It may also be noted that out of the 43 members of the education Reorganisation Committee 13 were officials and 14 non official members of the Legislature. Most of the officials are also members of the Legislature. Thus, about half of the members of the Committee were members of the Legislature. Not one of them had any difference of opinion on the recommendations and Report of the Committee in March. We are painfully surprised that by July, all of them supported the resolutions to vary the Report with respect to private Primary schools. Generally, when Government members vote "en bloc on a question, the House takes it as a Government measure and the nominated and several others naturally supported it. Besides, those elected members of the Legislature who supported this resolution had not put this important issue before the electorate and taken a verdict. On the other hand, the representative character of the Committee and the long and thorough attention given by them to these questions, and the unanimous nature of the Report, all would clearly show that the Report of Education Reorganisation Committee reflects more correctly the opinion of the general public.

Considering the resolution on its merits, it is clear that it aims at interfering with freedom of conscience, just like freedom of worship and right to property, which is one among the several post-war "freedoms" assured to

all. These fundamental rights all along have been guaranteed by the State. We regret that the members of the Legislature moved and passed this resolution which affects those fundamental rights of the subjects. The Supreme Court of the United States of America considered the question in relation to the freedom of education, whether the State has a right to pass a rule which negatives the fundamental liberties and held, in the Oregon school case in 1925, that the fundamental theory of liberty upon which all Governments in this Union repose, excludes any general power of the State to standardise its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only.

"The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognise and prepare him for additional duties".

One of the instructions given by Hilaire Belloc, a well known thinker is very appropriate to the question at issue. In his pamphlet on "The Catholic Church and the principle of Private Property" he refers to the result of the vote of a conscious, active and sincere majority. He adds a footnote on these qualifications of the vote.

"It is important to add the words conscious, active and sincere, because, as we all know, most majority votes are worth little as expressions of popular will. They are given on subjects not demanded by the voters but proposed

by the politicians: they are given indifferently and with slight conviction. We are here concerned only with a true expression of opinion".

The illustration is in the form of a question and answer.

"QUESTION: If by the vote of a conscious, active and sincere majority—the real expression of strong majority opinion—be determined that private property shall cease to exist in the State, and that the control of material objects shall be vested solely in the officials of the State, is the execution of that decision, with the consequence it involves, moral or not?

ANSWER: It is immoral. No mere majority can justly suppress a normally human right. The right of a majority to govern is less than the right of a man to normal living. Thus, a majority would not have the right to forbid marriage to the minority, merely because it was a majority, and because those thus unjustly treated were a minority".

For the reasons stated above and also for the additional ground that the recommendations of the Legislature as embodied in the resolution affect the fundamental rights of freedom of conscience, we trust that Government will be pleased to ignore this resolution. In this connection, it will be helpful to make

our position clear by referring to two passages from our Joint Pastoral Letter quoted above.

"Catholics are always reminded of the high duties towards the State and of their obligation to obey its authority. The great Christian principle is this: 'There is no power but from God, and those that are ordained of God' (Romans, XIII, 1). And Pope Leo XIII has stated the Christian principle thus: 'Hallowed, therefore, in the minds of Christians is the very idea of Public Authority in which they recognise some likeness and symbol, as it were, of the Divine Majesty, even when it is exercised by one unworthy. A just and due reverence to the laws abides in them not from force and threats, but from a consciousness of duty; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear' (2, Timo. 1, 7) (Joint Pastoral page 20).

"Nor can Catholics acquiesce in the principle of monopoly of education by the State, whether elementary or higher. In one respect elementary education is more important to them, because it is in elementary schools that the foundations of education are laid, which will have far-reaching influences upon the future of a child. Such schools are, therefore, of utmost importance to Catholics. If the minds of our little ones are spoiled by godless education, given in non-catholic schools, it would be one of the worst calamities that can befall

a Catholic Community in particular and society in general. Any attempt on the part of any Government to claim monopoly of elementary education would be a great violation of the rights which Catholics are entitled to enjoy. Apart from the harm it would do for them it would have its baneful effects upon future generation of non-catholics as well. It will retard the progress of education by evicting from the field Private Agencies that are capable of doing splendid work in this matter, even more efficiently and at the same time much more economically than Government themselves. At any rate, the principle of either total or partial monopoly of education by the State, with its principles and theories vacillating according to the views and opinions of persons who hold power from time to time, is diametrically opposed to the legitimate rights of the Church and of Catholics. The State has the right to establish and run its own schools. But the State should not become the sole educational agency. It should not, therefore, with this purpose take away the just rights and privileges of private schools. Nor should the State force Catholic parents directly or indirectly to send their children to non-catholic schools". (Joint Pastoral page 25).

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The Communique concludes with a reference to two saving clauses, that even if the primary schools are assumed by Government, private agencies would be free to conduct schools provided they do not claim any grant-in-aid, and that the present move embraces only the primary schools; but the middle schools and high schools are left intact. Since Government have made primary education free in the State, every child has a right to receive from Government, PER CAPITA, the full expense of its primary education. By conducting schools, private agencies render substantial service to the education of the children in the State. It is only fair that the entire burden they undertake must be compensated in full, even if there is no contribution from them to the general revenue. Here the communities that conduct private schools are contributing to the public revenue. Distributive justice, therefore, requires that the entire cost of our schools must be met by Government. The Committee recommends only a moderate rate of 75 per cent. To collect the taxes as at present and refuse to give any assistance to private schools, thereby asking us to find a second quota of funds to run our schools, will verge on hardship and in justice.

Reference to teachers' position in private schools is misleading. As a result of our Joint Pastoral, the Managers of the schools under our control have been trying according to their means to improve the condition of the teachers; and now since the introduction of direct payment to individual teachers by Government (which by the way is not considered an ideal state of affairs),

there is no room for the allegation made against Catholic Managers in the Government Communique. For the complete amelioration of the economic condition of our teachers, we do depend on Government aid, which we submit, is only reasonable.

To say that we need not worry about running schools when on grounds of religion and conscience we are bound to have our schools, is but to evade the issue. It is no consolation to us to be told that only Primary schools are assumed, for the primary stage of education is most important for us, since it is at this stage that the foundations of education are laid, as stated above. Moreover, a great majority of children discontinue at the end of the primary stage. It is equally no consolation to us to allow us to conduct our schools denying financial assistance. That would be stifling them out of existence.

We believe, we have made our position sufficiently clear. Since the implementing of the resolution under reference is of far reaching effect, it is the duty of the Bishops to give proper direction to the Catholics, to move Government to avert any step adverse to their interests, to instruct the people to exercise their right and duty of peaceful and constitutional representation to bring home to Government the gravity of the question and to take all legitimate steps necessary for a proper solution and above all to seek, by prayer, God's help. The Pastoral Letter of His Lordship, the Bishop of

Changanacherry dated 15th August, 1945 issued to the Catholics of his diocese is only such an exhortation.

The Most Rev. Dr. Augustine Kandathil,
Archbishop of Ernakulam.

The Most Rev. Mar Ivanios,
Archbishop of Trivandrum.

The Most Rev. Dr. Joseph Attipetty,
Archbishop of Verapoly.

Ernakulam, }
10th Sept. '45. }

GOVERNMENT OF TRAVANCORE

Roc. No. 4107/45/Eds

Huzur Cutcherry-
Trivandrum, 6 October '45.

From

Secretary to Government

To

The Most Rev. Augustine Kandathil,
Archbishop of Ernakulam.

Sub:- Education Reorganisation— Control and management of Primary Schools.

Most Rev. Sir,

With reference to joint memorial dated the 10th September 1945, submitted to the Dewan by the Most Rev. Dr. Mar Ivanios- Archbishop of Trivandrum, the Most Rev. Dr. Joseph Attipetty, Archbishop of Verapoly and yourself, requesting that the resolution passed by the Legislature, regarding Primary Education in the State, may not be given effect to, I am to refer you to the Government proceedings R. Dis No. 1324/45/Ebn., dated the 12th september 1945 published as Government Gazette Extraordinary (copy enclosed) laying down the policy of Government in the matter.

2. As regards religious instruction, the authority or responsibility claimed by the Roman Catholic Church over Catholic children, as discussed at length in the memorial, is in no way interfered with by the policy of Government in assuming responsibility for free and compulsory primary education throughout the State. Government have kept the field open to the Catholic

Church, or for that matter, any body or organisation interested in promoting religious, social or educational creeds, or in pursuing specific educational programme, to run their own schools with such objectives. It has been made abundantly clear that the Catholics can continue to conduct and manage primary schools and that if such schools achieve the standards prescribed by the Educational Department, they will be eligible for recognition. The Catholics are now more free than they have hitherto been to conduct their own schools in their own way for their own children. No Catholic parents will be forced directly or indirectly to send their children to non-Catholic schools.

3. But as regards payment of grants, I may state that when and as soon as Government have decided to introduce compulsory primary education in the State, it becomes their duty to provide instruction for every boy or girl between the ages of 5 and 10 in every locality within the State. Government are also bound to provide for the feeding, clothing etc., of the poorer children compelled to attend school. Compulsion cannot be enforced except by the authority of Government. Denominational schools, which cater only to a particular section or impart only particular types of education therefore, fall outside the scope of the state system of primary education. It is likely that the denominational schools, which continue to exist outside the public scheme, will become schools exclusively for the adherents of the denomination concerned, to which pupils of other creeds will not seek admission, and of which the teachers will be members of that denomination. Government will not, therefore, be justified in paying grants in aid

to such purely denominational institutions; and it would be both unconstitutional and invidious to deal with Catholic institutions differently from others.

4. The demand that Government should deliberately ignore, without sufficient grounds, the well considered decisions of the two Houses of Legislature, raises issues of great magnitude, but it may at once be stated that Government concur with the views of the Legislature and have therefore decided to accept their proposals. They regret that they do not see their way to alter their decision contained in the proceedings quoted above. But it may be seen that, in accepting the resolution of the Legislature, Government have been careful enough to preserve the rights of minorities including those of Catholics.

Yours faithfully,

(sd)

Secretary to Government.



Fundamental Right of Parents and of the Church

Declaration by Archbishops and Bishops On Catholic Education

A Conference of the Working and Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India, representing all the 56 ecclesiastical divisions of the country, including the Indian States, held in Bangalore for a week has just concluded.

The Archbishop of Calcutta, Chairman of the Standing Committee, presided. The other members were the Archbishops of Pondicherry, Trivandrum, Verapoly, Madras, Delhi and Simla, Agra, the Bishops of Ranchi, Cochin, Kottayam, Nellore and the Vicar-General of Madura. The Bishop of Bangalore was the general secretary of the Conference.

The Conference discussed many important questions pertaining to the welfare of the Catholic Church in India, particularly education. At the conclusion of the Conference the following statement was issued under the signature of all those who attended.

In view of the totalitarian tendencies of some Governments in the field of education and the many erroneous pronouncements recently made in the Press and on

the Platform, We the Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India, in the name of the Catholic Hierarchy deem it necessary to issue the following authoritative declaration on the inalienable rights of parents and on the fundamental principles of the Church in regard to education.

1. The family holds directly from the Creator the mission, and hence the right to educate its offspring, a right inalienable because inseparable joined to strict obligation, a right anterior to any right whatever of civil society and of the State and therefore inviolable on the part of any power on earth.

2. Although parents may delegate the execution of this duty to others, they may not lay aside these responsibilities which are inalienable. The child must be primarily educated by its parents and subsequently by teachers of the parents' choice and under the parents' supervision and approval.

3. Catholic parents and guardians have the right and the duty to give their children a thorough Catholic education so as to enable them to attain their temporal and eternal destiny. Hence they have the fundamental right to have their own schools in which alone their children can receive an education in accordance with their Faith.

4. All who believe in the spiritual nature and destiny of man must admit that religion and morality are the basis of family and society and that education divorced from religious belief and moral law is fatal to cha-

racter formation. Hence the Catholic Church regards religion as the supreme coordinating principle in education as it is in life. She consequently repudiates all form of pedagogic secularism and insists on religious teaching as an essential part of the child's education.

5. The Church, which we hold as the divinely appointed teaching society, has the right to establish her own schools to enable her children to attain their complete destiny. To deny her this right would be tantamount to preventing Catholic parents from fulfilling their fundamental obligation to educate their children according to their conscientious convictions, and the Church from exercising one of her fundamental rights, viz., the liberty of teaching.

6. We fully recognise that the State, whose object is to procure the common temporal welfare of its citizens, has its own functions in regard to education. In carrying out these duties, the State must recognise, protect and foster in its legislation the prior rights of the family as regards the education of its offspring and must also protect and respect the religious rights of the Church in this matter.

7. In order to safeguard the natural rights of parents and meet their legitimate demands, the State cannot do better than foster and protect educational institutions started by other efficient agencies in accordance with the wishes of families, as is the case in most of the democratic countries. But this does not mean that in the matter of secular education, aided schools should be free from all control by the State.

8. While we welcome the principle of free, universal and compulsory education, we declare that any monopoly educational or scholastic, which, physically or morally forces families to make use of State schools, contrary to the dictates of their conscience, or even contrary to their legitimate preference, is unjust and unlawful. For such a monopoly overrides the rights of parents, and denies the Church the right to open and maintain her own schools.

9. State neutrality in the sense of opposing or discouraging religious instruction in the schools is offensive to God, the knowledge of Whom it prevents, injurious to the rights of parents and deeply harmful to the interests of youth; it places religion below worldly considerations, and inevitably leads to religious indifferentism which undermines the well-being of the family and society.

10. Canon Law, which is the ecclesiastical personal law of Catholics, lays down definite educational principles. These constitute a sacred obligation binding on the conscience of Catholics and requiring them to send their children only to Catholic schools. Catholics should not then be penalised nor debarred from admission to the system of grants-in-aid if they insist on having their own schools for their children.

11. Since the State allots to education a certain portion of its revenue, distributive justice requires that Catholics receive for their schools a legitimate share of public funds. They do not ask any financial assistance for religious teaching as such, but for the secular instruction imparted to pupils in accordance with Government regulations-

12. Although the Church has established schools and colleges for the education of her own children, these institutions have been opened also non-Catholics in response to the wishes of non-Catholic parents and in some cases at the express invitation of the Government of various Provinces and States. In these cases the Cathole Church has always respected and will always respect the religious convictions of non-Catholic students. She never has imposed, and never will, her teaching on them.

13. We have a conscientious objection to the teaching of other religious tenets and to the provision of organised worship for other religious bodies in our institutions.

14. We are convinced that the principles laid down in this declaration are conducive to the welfare and progress of the nation, promote efficiency and make for economy in education, enhance the value of religious ideals and foster respect for civil authority upon which depend order, peace and prosperity.

Bangalore, 20th October, 1945

Signed:

† F. Ferier, S. I., Archbishop of Calcutta.

† A. S. Colas, Archbishop of Pondicherry.

† Mar Ivanios, Archbishop of Trivandrum

† J. Attipetty, Archbishop of Varapoly.

† L. Mathias, S.C., Archbishop of Madras.

† S. Mulligan, O.F.M. (cap.), Archbishop of Delhi and

Simla.

† E. Vanni, (cap.), Archbishop of Agra

† O. Sevrin, S.J., Bishop of Ranchi.

† P. Thomas. Bishop of Bangalore.

† J. Alvemaz, Bishop of Cochin. (For the Patriarch of
(Goa.)

† A. Chulaparambil, Bishop of Kottayam.

(For the Archbishop of Ernakulam.)

† W. Bouter. Bishop of Nellore. (For the Archbishop
of Bombay).

Rev. Fr. A. Bonhoure, S.J., (For the Bishop of Madura).

THE TRAVANCORE EDUCATION QUESTION

What the Christians are For and Against?

The Christians are For:- | *The Christians are Against:*

1. Free and compulsory education.

2. Adequate control and supervision by Government in the general scheme of compulsory primary education.

3. Any measures calculated to attain better standards and greater efficiency in the general scheme of education, formulated by Government in consonance with their declared policy of religious neutrality.

1. The whole control and management of primary or secondary or collegiate education by the State; i.e., the sole monopoly of education by the State.

2. Any measures calculated to stifle private enterprise in education.

3. Any measures calculated to discourage religious and moral education outside school hours in private schools.

What are the Christian demands?

1. They simply demand the mere continuance of their right to teach their own religion to their own pupils by their own teachers in their own schools and that too, only outside the school hours prescribed by the Government.

2. They simply demand the mere continuance of the system of private agencies in the State, whether they be Christian, Muslim or Hindu.

3. They simply demand the mere continuance to them also, of the benefit of grants available to non-Christian private agencies.

4. They simply demand equal consideration and absolute impartiality towards all private schools in the State in respect of Government control, supervision and grant-in-aid.

Please study the problem impartially before rushing into conclusion. These demands are not for any new privilege. They are purely logical and absolutely just and fair.

Education Committee
of The All Kerala Catholic Congress.

CLARIFICATION

By
THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE
OF
THE ALL KERALA CATHOLIC CONGRESS.

A resolution of the above Committee stated that in view of the confusion of thought created in the public mind by the Travancore Government's Press Communique and the utterances of the Dewan and of the misrepresentations made and persistently carried on by some newspapers and non-Catholic commentators regarding the Travancore Catholics' stand in the matter of the introduction of compulsory primary education, religious instru-

ction and grant-in-aid, the Committee felt that a clarification was necessary. The Committee therefore has issued the following:--

STATEMENT

The statements by the Dewan of Travancore and the letter of Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri published in the papers show that there is a confusion of thought. Expressions of opinions by leading non-Catholics and non-Catholic newspapers reveal also the fact that there is a good amount of misrepresentation about certain material points. The Christians in Travancore are represented to be advancing *new claims* that they must have a *new freedom* to teach and force their religion on others and that they must be given financial assistance for the purpose. *This is false propaganda.* The following facts may therefore be noted:—

Christian Schools and their Contribution

1. Out of 3052 primary schools in the State, 2169 schools, i.e., 71 per cent, is run by private agencies. Out of this large number of private management schools, over 89 percent is run by Christians. The number of pupils attending the State-owned schools is 1,91,500 and the number attending the management primary schools is 3,63,300.

2. Primary schools managed by Christians are housed in buildings built to Government specifications, the entire cost being met by Christian Churches and other Christian institutions and associations.

3. These schools are conducted in full conformity with Departmental regulations the observance of which is insisted as a pre-requisite for recognition and grant.

4. There is absolutely no difference between these private schools and the Departmental schools in anything connected with the general curriculum and teaching.

5. It has been admitted by Government and very often on the floor of the Houses of Legislature by non-Christian members, that in efficiency these institutions stand much higher than Departmental schools.

Religious Instruction & grant-in-aid

1. Religious instruction is given in Catholic schools only for not more than a period a day.

2. This period is outside the other periods provided for the general study.

3. This period is so arranged that non-Catholics need come to school only after that period or they can go home before that period.

4. Non-Catholic students are not only *not compelled* to attend this religious instruction class, but *will not even be allowed* to attend that class.

5. This religious instruction does not therefore interfere with the teaching of the general subjects or with non Catholic pupils.

6. To say that Catholics compel non-Catholic pupils to attend religious classes is deliberately false. To say that Christians conduct schools for conversion is an equally deliberate falsehood

7. The Christian schools were entitled to grant-in-aid. From the time the grant-in-aid system was introduced, Christian schools were being given grant and even now they are drawing the grant:

8. The grant-in-aid to Middle and High school sections conducted by Private agencies is proposed to be continued by Government. Why should the Government say that in primary sections the grant-in-aid system should be abolished?

Changes by Legislature & Government

1. The Travancore Education Re-organisation committee, over 60 per cent of whose members were official and non-official Members of the Legislature, unanimously recommended that religious education is absolutely necessary and that in view of the additional burden that may have to be borne by management schools owing to the introduction of compulsory primary education, the grant-in-aid should be raised to cover $\frac{3}{4}$ of the teachers' salary. This unanimous Report was signed by the committee in March 1945.

2. When the Legislature met in Budget Session in July 1945, they passed a resolution prohibiting religious instruction in schools and another against the continuance of private agencies for primary education.

3. One curious fact about these Resolutions is that they were strongly supported by the very same members of the Committee who had subscribed to the unanimous recommendations of the Committee.

4. Another plain fact is that the Government supported these resolutions. This is evident from the Dewan's speech on the resolutions and from the support given to them by the Government members 'enbloc.'

No New Claims

The changes embodied and proposed in the Resolutions of the Legislature affect the rights and liberties of the Christians.

They object to the introduction of "such changes". They do not want anything 'new'. All that they want is to 'continue' the present rights and liberties which they have been enjoying in the past.

Catholics & the Compulsory Scheme

The Catholics are ready to work the Compulsory system of primary education. They have better buildings and better equipments. All classes of pupils will be admitted as at present. Religion is not part of the general curriculum and no religion is taught to non-Catholics.

What do the Catholics want?

1. They want a continuance of their right to teach religion to their children in their school buildings, not during class hours even, but outside class hours.

2. They must be assured in clear terms that their right to grant-in-aid will not be denied to them because they teach religion in their schools to their children. That is to say, the grant-in-aid must be given to them for teaching the general curriculum to all pupils as directed under the Departmental rules, irrespective of

the caste or religion of the pupils. They want the Government to understand that they do not ask any grant for teaching religion. To say that they so demand, is untrue.

3. Such grant-in-aid should be cent per cent of the teachers' salary when an educational cess is imposed or in the absence of any such cess, it should be 75 per cent of the teachers' salary as unanimously recommended by the Education Re-organisation Committee.

These claims are neither new nor unjust.

Kottayam, }
25.9.1945 }

Press Communiqué

Government have noticed that several meetings are being held outside and within the State with reference to their primary Education Policy and that intemperate and irresponsible speeches are being delivered, often containing matter wholly irrelevant to the discussion of the question involved. Some of the meetings have been sponsored or presided over by Catholics and a few others who have occupied fairly important official and non-official positions and from whom a higher sense of responsibility could have been expected. It is understood that other meetings are being organised or contemplated.

While Government have no objection to the discussion of the pros and cons of the question in all its aspects they regret to note that advantage is taken by many persons, with personal or other grievances, for the purpose of utilising this occasion for wholesale and subversive propaganda against the administration of the State.

Government desire to make it absolutely clear that the policy laid down by them and embodied in the Act recently promulgated is, in the opinion of Government, of fundamental importance and will not be modified. Government are and have always been perfectly willing, if and only if approached in the appropriate manner, to discuss details so as to deal with legitimate requests

consistent with the above policy or to meet cases of special hardship to the extent possible, but they cannot be deflected from their programme by attempts to bring pressure to bear on them by or through ecclesiastical or political organisations or personages unconnected with local interests and unacquainted with local conditions. Such attempts are not likely to assist but may hamper an amicable solution of the problem.

29-11-1945.

Christians' reply to the press communique

Dated 29th December '45.

It is evident from the Travancore Government Press Communique dated 29th December 1945 that Government seem to entertain certain misunderstandings regarding the numerous meetings that are being held to protest against their new educational policy. Admittedly many big meetings are held outside and within the State opposing the new measure. Such meetings are conducted not because of any personal animosity towards any individual nor with a view to utilise them for any subversive propaganda against the administration of the State. In these meetings, nothing more than appeals to Government to preserve inviolate one of the fundamental rights of Christians is raised. Some speakers while discussing the pros and cons of the question in all its aspects do criticise and refute the arguments of those who deliver speeches and issue Statements supporting the Government's policy. Certain factors which evidently appear to encourage the baseless allegations made by some persons against the Christians, their religious beliefs and their ecclesiastical heads may also have been criticised at times.

It is regrettable that the Press Communique keeps silence about the evil propaganda conducted in this

country by some persons denouncing all that Christians hold sacred and venerable. How many speeches, statements, articles and cartoons we see from day to day calculated to stir up communal hatred in the country by denouncing Christian ecclesiastical heads and particularly Catholics? How long will the Government be able to look blindly upon such matters? No statement is made by any Christian due to personal grievances or with the object of subverting the Government. But the speeches and statements of some of those who support the Government are unworthy of the eminent positions they adorn.

The Press Communique emphatically states that 'the policy laid down' by the Government 'will not be modified'. The Government's policy is that education ought to be under the absolute control and management of the State. If this policy is implemented, private agencies will have no place in education. If Government intends only to make primary education compulsory and free, there is no scope for any difference of opinion. But the Government's policy is clear. It is a fact that Government do not clearly say that private agencies will have no place in education; but they will not encourage schools conducted by private agencies or give them grant-in-aid. Nor is this all. They will run state schools even very near the schools conducted by a religious denomination. The Dewan himself stated in the Legislative Council that if private schools near state schools "can subsist after the location of the Government school, by all means let it. But in all probability, I may say, it is not likely". Government's policy is thus

to bring primary education under their complete control and management within a period of ten years.

What Christians demand is that they should have the right to conduct their own schools and give religious instruction to their children alone outside school hours and to receive adequate grants for imparting general education according to the rules and curriculum prescribed by Government.

There is hence a fundamental difference between the Government policy and the demands of the Christians. A Christian believes that in the education of Christian children, the Church and the parents have certain inalienable rights and duties and that compulsion to concede to the State any authority in respect of education, which is not consistent with these rights and duties, is a negation of his religious freedom. A government which respect the religious belief of the citizen—a government which maintain religious neutrality—cannot but agree to this demand of the Christians. There cannot be any compromise or surrender in this matter, as it is based on religious belief.

This unshakable position of the Christians regarding education has been brought to the notice of the Government in appropriate manner several years ago.

It has now been declared that Government's position is also unshakable. When there are such fundamental differences of opinion it is evident that it will be of no avail to appeal anywhere else except to H. H. The Maharaja.

Christians all over the world have the right to protest against this policy adopted by Government, a policy endangering the religious liberties of the Christians of Travancore. There is no need to interpret it as "attempts to bring pressure to bear" on the Government. "And if one member suffers anything, all members suffer with it; or if one member glory, all the members rejoice with it". (St. Paul) Even if they have no connection with "local interests", their relation with Christianity is indivisible. But those who have no connection with "local interests", like Savarkar, Malaviya, Sreenivasa Sastri and others have pledged the entire support of India against the Christians of Travancore. Intimidation is really contained in this. It will be impossible to frighten away Christians from their legitimate and just demands by threats like this.

It is the right of every citizen to organise public opinion in the country. No one has so far attempted to bring pressure to bear on the Government. Nothing more than what is done in any civilized country to organise public opinion, is taking place in Travancore.

SECRETARY,

Education Committee of the All Kerala
Catholic Congress.

Kottayam,

1-12-1945.

THE TRAVNCORE GOVERNMENT'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

*Correspondence Between Retired Chief Justice Of Travancore
and the Present Dewan*

Joseph Thaliath M. A., Bar-at-Law,
Retired Chief Justice.

"Carmel View"

Trivandrum, 5th Nov. 1945.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter, dated 31st ultimo.

Permit me to point out that the reason given in the said letter for not giving grants to denominational schools is not at all applicable to the conditions in Travancore. I am quite aware of the difficulties that may arise in localities where there are only enough students for one primary school but where different denominations want separate schools for each of them; or in other words of the difficulties arising in "single school" areas. They are discussed in almost all educational reports published in British India, England and Scotland. I am afraid these reports may have considerably influenced you in arriving at the conclusion that to satisfy our demand in the matter of grant, the Government will have to finance two or three sets of institutions in a locality where one will suffice.

May I now bring to your notice one fundamental difference in the conditions that exist in British India, England and Scotland on one side and Travancore on the other, in the matter of the distribution of population

under the Travancore Primary Education Act, since the definition given in the said Act, schools recognised by the Department of Education come under the term "approved schools." Having treated such schools as coming within the Travancore Primary Education Act, I do not see the logic in denying such schools grant from the educational funds or from the proceeds of the education cess if they are to get any grant at all. To give to such approved schools aid from funds other than funds set aside for education will, I am afraid, create an impression that what they are given is by way of charity.

I have read, as required in your letter your statement in answer to the declaration of fundamental rights by the Catholic Archbishops. In this connection I would like to make a point clear. Many people seem to be under the impression that Catholic schools employ only Catholic teachers. From the figures of private vernacular schools and the caste-war statement of teachers employed in such schools, given in the Administration Report of the Education Department for the year 1943-44, it will be seen that even though Catholics run the largest number of private vernacular schools when compared with similar institutions managed by other agencies, there were only 2,655 Catholic teachers in all private vernacular schools taken together, whereas the number of Nair teachers was 3,299. It has to be noted here that out of 2,253 private vernacular schools only 42 are managed by Nair Service Society, Nair Samajams and Nair Karayogoms. Hence it is evident that out of 3,299 Nair teachers the large majority are being employed by other private schools, including those run by the Catholics.

Catholic teachers, of course, are required to teach religion to Catholic students. The other subjects are taught by Catholic as well as non-Catholic teachers. It may be asked how a Catholic atmosphere can be maintained in a Catholic school where non-Catholic teachers are being employed. The teacher who gives religious instructions engages the attention of the students for one period every working day. The students have to be taught by other teachers for six periods. As long as the manager is at the spot and has control and supervision over all these teachers there is some guarantee that they will not by their behaviour and utterances counteract the influence of religious teaching. By saying this I do not in any way suggest that the teachers in Government institutions are undesirable people and that they are not subject to control and supervision. In denominational schools, however, as I said, there is a responsible man, the manager, on the spot under whose personal supervision the teachers are always working. With the best of efforts on the part of the Education Department their supervision cannot be so very effective, especially with the introduction of compulsory primary education, when the number of schools will be vastly increased. What I stated above is equally applicable even if facilities are given to Catholics to send Catholic teachers to teach religion to their own children in Government institutions.

I was very much surprised to read the following statement in your letter; 'It is only after the responsibility for universal, free compulsory primary education has been assumed by the State that the demand ha

been made that Catholic students should attend Catholic schools." In other words we put forward such a demand for the first time after the Travancore Legislature passed the resolution that the State should assume management of all private primary schools and the Government announced its decision to do so on the 12th of September 1945. I can now realise why you have not hitherto bestowed that consideration to our demand that it deserves. As long as our real position is not understood, our efforts to have our schools under our own management will be variously interpreted. Some might think that we are out to provide posts for the educated unemployed in our community. Others might think that our motive is even sordid, namely, to knock off a big slice out of the public funds in the shape of grant-in-aid. I shall therefore try to show what is our real motive in maintaining our schools. The Catholic parents have a very grave obligation to have their children taught only in Catholic schools. In support of this position I shall refer to certain authoritative statements of ecclesiastical heads which are binding on all Catholics, pronouncements made long ago, when those who pronounced them and those for whose benefit they were made, could not have even dreamt of providing posts for anybody. Nor could have those pronouncements been made with any idea of getting grants-in-aid, since grant-in-aid system itself was not thought of at that time. The motherly solicitude of the Church to preserve intact the faith that is, in a child and for its moral upbringing is alone responsible for her insistence that Catholic children should be sent to Catholic schools and it is for the attainment of the same ends that she incurs heavy fin-

ancial commitments for erecting schools and maintaining them.

The Code of Canon Law of 1917 which is applicable to all catholics in the world in Canon 1374 lays down: "Catholic children should not frequent non-Catholic neutral or mixed schools. It is for the Bishop to decide according to the Apostolic See, in which circumstances and with what precautions attendance at such schools may be tolerated, without danger of perversion to the pupils." How circumscribed are the powers to give exemptions I shall show later on. The Code of 1917 itself is a consolidation of various sets of old Canons. I do not think I need go to the very origin of the Canon cited. I shall, however, refer to certain decrees and directions affecting the Church in India and Malabar. On the 8th September 1869 the Holy See sent an Instrument of Instruction to the Catholic Bishops in India. It is stated therein that Catholics should avoid sending their children to the civil Government schools. On 24th November 1875, the Holy See sent another Instrument of Instructions which is more elaborate and provides sanctions against those who disobey the direction. The First Provincial Council of Veropoly held in 1894, presided over by the Delegate Apostolic of India and attended by the Catholic Bishops of Travancore and Cochin, adopting the Instructions of the Holy See of 1875 laid down: "Children shall never be sent to non-Catholic schools, without the express permission of the Bishop to whose conscience and judgment is left to decide by himself or by a priest deputed by him, whether there is or not a sufficient reason in a particular case and whether there is no danger of perversion to the pupil.

"The Bishop should not desist from instructing the Parish Priests under very grave obligations of conscience to bring home to the parents whether the latter like it or not, privately or in public the strict obligation that rests on them not to send their children to non-Catholic schools without an express permission of the Bishop.

"Let it be known to all confessors that they have to refuse absolution to those who without express permission of the Bishop, send their children or children under their guardianship, to schools forbidden by the Church." (Title, VIII. ch. 6 Nos. 1, 2 and 4.)

These same regulations were again enforced on 22nd November 1906, by a special direction to the Clergy issued by the then Catholic Bishops in Malabar. From my personal experience, I can say that I have been hearing from my childhood pastoral letters being read in our church, just before the commencement of the school year, reminding the parents of their great obligation to send their children to Catholic schools.

It may be asked, if this obligation is so very great why is it that some of the Catholic parents do not heed it. I can only reply that in days not long ago, when our State was carrying out even death sentence on those who commit murder, there were found some people who did not hesitate to risk their lives to gain some ends of their own. If that is so, is it a matter for wonder that there may be found some Catholic parents sending their children to non-Catholic schools when the penalty they incur by so doing is the withholding of some sacraments?

In conclusion, may I request you to please, reconsider the Government decision in view of the grave responsibility resting with Catholics to send their children to their own schools and also in the light of the feasibility, I have pointed out, for providing schools in a locality to satisfy the claims of different communities, without any additional cost on the part of the Government.

Since the letter you sent me was in reply to the resolution passed at the meeting of the Catholics of Trivandrum, which I forwarded to you, I take it that the contents of your letters are not for my information alone. I am therefore releasing your letter and this letter of mine to the Press.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) JOSEPH THALIATH,

Sacivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.

Dewan,
Trivandrum.

Dewan of Travancore,

Bhaktivilas,

Trivandrum.

31st October, 1945.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th instant and in reply would invite you to peruse the statement made by me in answer to the Declaration of Fundamental Rights by certain Archbishops and Bishops. As there is considerable misconception on this matter and as you yourself in your very vehement speech (the speech of Mr. Joseph Thaliath referred to by the Dewan will be published in one of our subsequent issues -- Ed. N. L.), seem to have lost sight of certain important considerations, I shall elucidate the position premising my remarks by the statement that I consider the present agitation to be based fundamental misconceptions.

It must be obvious to all who know the actual conditions in the State that whatever may be the theoretical obligation binding on the Catholic parents, they have not, so far, felt the necessity of educating all their children of school-going age. It is also demonstrable that a large number of Catholic students are attending non-Catholic or Government primary schools where Catholic education is not imparted. It is only after the responsibility for universal, free, compulsory primary education has been assumed by the State that the demand has been made that Catholic students should attend only

Catholic schools. As already stated on behalf of the Government, many more schools would be necessary for imparting primary education and Government also propose to grant approximately 25 rupees per mensem to each teacher with a provision for a provident fund; it is also proposed to provide mid-day meals and clothing; wherever necessary, to the pupils. In order to implement the scheme of universal compulsory primary education schools will have to be started by Government so as to ensure that no child has to walk more than a mile or two to attend a primary school. Institutions will therefore have to be started, irrespectively of the location of other schools, with the object of carrying out the underlying purpose, namely, universal free compulsory education.

There is no objection to Hindu, Muslim, Catholic or non-Catholic Organisations running private schools and recognition will be given to those institutions, whose standards and curricula are in conformity with those laid down by Government. Government have also no objection to the imparting of religious instruction in Government or other schools out of school hours by the followers of any denomination to the members of that denomination and special arrangements can, if required, be made for that purpose.

As this system is a State-wide one, Government cannot give grants to denominational or other institutions conducting primary schools. The reason of course is that in the same locality they cannot possibly finance two or three separate sets of institutions. Therefore primary schools run by private agencies, Hindu, Muslim

or Christian, in areas where the system of compulsory education is introduced will not be given grants either from the -- education funds or from the proceeds of the educational cess. As also stated on behalf of Government, Government reserve to themselves the right to give concessionary grants from other than the above funds to deserving institutions imparting secular as well as religious instruction. It may be emphasised that these grants will be outside the scope and purview of educational grants-in-aid.

I may conclude by saying that it is rather strange that there should be this controversy when Government undertake the task of imparting secular education to all the Catholic children, ensuring at the same time necessary facilities for imparting religious education to those Catholic children by Catholic priests.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd) C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER.

Joseph Thaliath, Esq., M. A.,
Bar-at-Law, Retired Chief Justice,
"Carmel View",
Trivandrum.

Conditions in Travancore

Pundit Nehru's Criticism

Without arriving at any judgement as to what is happening in Travancore still I am prepared to say that what is happening is definitely objectionable, wrong, and contemptuous of the people's movement. I have received telegrams from Alleppey of Travancore's ban on the national flag, processions, and meetings for three months in certain towns. I am not prepared to tolerate anything that is contemptuous done deliberately to dishonour the national flag. Such things are happening in Travancore.

(From Madras Mail)

Travancore Government's Decision to Take Action

TRIVANDRUM: The decision of the Travancore Government to take action against Mr. Thariathu Kunjithoman nominated as President of the Catholic Congress, and to ban the newspaper *Malabar Mail* is announced today. Explaining the circumstances leading to this decision a Press Communique issued today says: "The attention of the Government has been drawn to statement published by Thariathu Kunjithoman in Travancore newspapers.

"This Government have permitted the freest and fullest expression of opinion in respect of their primary education policy, and more than a hundred meetings have been held mainly at the instance of Catholic organisations in and outside the State, wherein, while approving of the policy of introducing primary and compulsory elementary education, the organisers have demanded continuance of private agencies and payment of entire salary of teachers employed by such private agencies.

"So long as the meetings were confined to discussion of this educational problem, the Government in pursuance of their general policy did not interfere in any manner. But they are constrained to observe that taking advantage of the forbearance of the Government, various individuals with personal or local grievances aligning themselves with subversive organisations including Communists are utilising the occasion of such public meetings for the expression of subversive sentiments

and unbridled and irrelevant criticism against the administration as a whole; and the Govt. particularly regret to observe that a few ecclesiastics have also lent themselves to such tactics.

"The Government wish to make it clear that they cannot permit such activities however sponsored. They have accordingly decided to take action against Thariathu Kunjithoman who has been nominated as President of the Catholic Congress, and who, after the step taken by the Government against him and his relations for various and extensive encroachments on Government properties and for other irregularities committed by him, has been recently opposing the Government and has utilised primary education controversy for the purpose of fomenting trouble inside and outside the State and chosen Ernakulam as the centre of his activities.

"The Government are glad to notice that responsible representatives of other Christian organisations have adopted constitutional method of approaching the Government for discussion and settlement of their particular problems and have kept aloof from this agitation."

"The Government are also taking steps for banning the *Malabar Mail* a newspaper now being conducted by a well-known agitator who was proceeded against by this Government for subversive agitation some years ago, and who is now utilising the present juncture not only for wholesale personal attacks but has descended to publishing in his paper matter calculated seriously to wound the religious susceptibilities of other communities".

The Managing Committee of the All Kerala Catholic Congress has issued the following Statement to the Press

The attention of the Committee have been drawn to the Press Communique issued by the Travancore Government, dated 22nd December, 1945, the managing Committee of the All Kerala Catholic Congress, representing the Catholics of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, desire to State that it is regrettable that the Government, while conscious of the depth of feeling indicated by the circumstance that nearly a thousand meetings have held in different parts of Travancore in respect of the Primary Education controversy, they still resist the idea of redressing the grievances of the Christian community, and instead, have now launched a policy of repression. It is, indeed, mischievous that in spite of the declarations--unequivocally made by prominent members of other Christian denominations-- that all divisions of Christians are at one in their demands, Government should persist in employing language suggestive of the agitation being one of some Catholics alone. Government have had unmistakable evidence of the unanimity of Christians in this matter, in that the Latin Christian Mahajana Sabha, the South Travancore Indian Christian Association and the Diocesan Council of the S. T. C. C. and the Mar Thoma Subha Council have passed resolutions protesting against the policy envisaged in the Government Proceedings, dated 12th September,

1945. Beyond the circumstance that a deputation on behalf of the London Mission Society in Travancore not the Dewan with a demand for the full salary of teachers in their primary schools, nothing has so far happened which would lend colour to the statement that other Christian denominations have approached Government or are keeping aloof from this constitutional agitation. The redress offered to the deputation say well be gauged by the fact that not even the L. M. S. have found their way to rescind the resolution of their Diocesan Councils.

Another very clear allegation made in the Communique under reference is more inexplicable. Government say that the Catholics have aligned themselves with Communists-- a situation which even Government must know is impossible. The statement is designed to prejudice the Christian claims in the eyes of those outside and is calculated to suggest that the Christian demand is not religious but political in character. The suggestion is not only untrue but also definitely mischievous. It is, indeed, strange that the communists are praised into service for invoking a ban on the Muslim Conference, and is alleged as a ground to justify the repressive policy now launched against the loyal Christian subjects of His Highness The Maharaja. It cannot be ignored that on the day previous to the date of this press Communique, the working committee of the Communist party in the State adopted a resolution calculated to lend veiled support to the repression adopted by the Government. A reading, side by side, of this resolution and the Communique, leaves no room for doubt on the very strange alignment of parties in the present controversy.

It is lamentable that in a pronouncement by Government, irresponsible statements calculated to insult the ecclesiastics should find a place. Government ought to realise that undeserved insults aimed at dignitaries held in reverence and esteem by the Christian Churches, whatever their intention, would help to embitter feelings and render any rapprochement impossible. In this context, this Committee desire to point out that for the last three months responsible Christian organisations have been repeatedly appealing to Government to prevent speakers and journals from indulging and highly provocative pronouncements that are calculated to hold up for public ridicule, persons and tenets held sacred by Christians everywhere. The Communique under reference, is surprisingly silent on this very legitimate grievance of the Christians of Travancore as well as of outside.

The paragraph of the Communique announcing the decision of Government to take action against Mr. Thariath Kunjithommen, President of the All-Kerala Catholic Congress betrays, by its language, the consciousness that Government could find no plausible ground for invoking the aid of the Defence Rules. He was unanimously *elected* as president of this organisation, at its annual session held in August 1945. It is no sin to be elected to the presidentship of the Congress; nor is it in any way grievous that the head office of this All Kerala institution should be located in Ernakulam-- a place which is centrally situated for an organisation with branches in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.

The Communique attempt to belittle Mr. Kunjithommen's selfless work for public cause by accusing him of personal grievance against Government on account of alleged "encroachment on Government lands." This allegation is groundless; on the other hand, it adds only insult to injury. The fact is that he never encroached upon any Government land. Mr. Kunjithommen as

well as hundreds of others applied for registry of land; they made the initial deposit; they paid the survey charges; and then only they occupied the land. Any this was, let it be noted, at a time when Government, by their Cardamom Rules, invited the public to develop cardamom cultivation. Under these Rules, no previous sanction was necessary for entry into these wild, uncultivated lands. Indeed, by a subsequent amendment of the Rules, Government ordered that registry will not be granted to those who enter the lands without previous sanction; and this amendment could not affect the entry and possession of these lands by Mr. Knnjithommen and others who had entered at a time when no sanction was necessary. But, curiously enough, the amended rule was applied with retrospective effect and all those who were then in legal occupation of the cardamom lands became automatically technical trespassers- and Mr. Kunji-thommen was but one of those who thus became technical trespassers. It is, therefore, untrue to allege that this is a motive for him to accept a unanimous demand of the All-Kerala Catholic Congress to be its President and to undertake the organisation of the Congress.

The Committee place on record their demand that whatever might be the allegations against their President, he should be given a public trial with opportunity to prove his innocence. To detain him under the Defence Rules about four months after the cessation of the war, is tantamount to a denial of fair trial and recourse to law, a right vested in every subject of His Highness but for the emergent circumstances called by a world war.

This Committee regret to state that the characterise a constitutional agitation for redress against what they deem wrong to Christian educational endeavour extending over a period of well nigh eighty years, as tantamount to "opposing Government," does grievous violence to the English language and reflect poor credit to the

knowledge of constitutional law. This Committee unhesitatingly record their opinion that the adoption of the policy of repression to smother a constitutional demand, however characterised by interested propaganda, must inevitably lead to repercussions inconsistent with the best interest of the State and exceedingly painful to the loyal Christian subjects of His Highness The Maharaja.

The Committee is surprised to note that the "Malabar Mail" a daily newspaper under Catholic management published from Ernakulam—is banned from circulation in Travancore. It is not true to fact to state that this paper has published "matter calculated seriously to wound the religious susceptibilities of other communion". Indeed, it has been boldly and forcibly explaining fundamental principles of a system of sound education and exposing the defects of, and the evil of communal discord that would result from, the new educational policy of the Travancore Government—a duty which the Press is expected to discharge. This Service which the paper was rendering to the public might have been distasteful to the Travancore Government, but that was not sufficient justification for this action taken against one of the best conducted and widely circulated daily of Kerala. Are we not, therefore, justified in pointing to this as an additional instance of the policy of repression now adopted by the Travancore Government?

CYRIAC KANDATHIL,
General Secretary.

Ernakulam, }
31-12-'45. }

Civil Liberties in Travancore

Government's Reply

Trivandrum Jan. 5.

"The recent statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru regarding to the alleged attitude of the Travancore Government towards the state people's movement, the alleged ban on national flags and the prohibition of procession and meetings is obviously based on a misconception of the true state of affairs", says a press note issued today.

Speaking of civil liberties, adds the Press Note, it is significant that in Travancore no person who is a member of the State Congress or any other people's organisation is under detention.

The order prohibiting public procession was not issued against the State Congress as such or in connection with any particular activities on the part of any people's movement. On the other hand, the recent agitation started by certain Catholics against the scheme of compulsory primary education introduced in the state, has been utilised as an occasion for subversive activities by the communists and persons who have been unsuccessful applicants for encroachment on public lands, and who have joined this movement evidently with a view to overawe the government by pressure of propaganda from


outside the state with the aid of some misguided ecclesiastics. Although the communists have, as such, no religious affiliations or beliefs and although the Catholic ecclesiastics have purported to disown them, the communists of Travancore are now supporting the Catholic agitation as well as denomination religious education in schools as well as the Pakistan demand, which is of no significance to Travancore.

Fostering Unrest

"They are searching for any opportunity to attack the government, and they have quite recently taken hold of an isolated instance of an alleged misconduct on the part of a Police Inspector to launch a virulent campaign against the Government, and have been organising meetings, demonstrations and processions with red flag and revolutionary slogans. They have also been systematically fostering unrest in labour circles. In these circumstances, the District Magistrates have been constrained to impose a ban on public meeting at certain centres for a short period. Actually the ban imposed is directed against only individual violent speakers, who are allied with the communists, and not against others. There have been no absolute ban on procession without notice is sought to be regulated by the District Magistrates order.

No insult to Congress Flag. "The Travancore Government have not passed any order intended to dishonour or insult the National Flag" of the Congress or the flag of any other organisation.

It was noticed that all varieties of flags, including the red flag were sought to be flown without appropriateness of time or place, and there was no uniformity even in the flying of the Travancore State Flag at formal public functions. The only relevant decision of the Government taken as early as 1940, is that the Travancore Flag, and on appropriate occasions, the Union Jack, will alone be used on formal public functions or in public places. At present, these are the only official flags".



**The Education Committee
of the All Kerala Catholic Congress
has issued
the following Statement to the Press.**

A Press Note has been issued under date the 5th January, 1946 purporting to be in answer to the merited condemnation at the All India States Peoples Conference, of the suppression of civil liberties in Travancore, attempting to justify the author of the Note in the view of Indian National leaders and seeking to make out, by a wholesale denial of facts, that the observations made by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in this behalf are unwarranted. It is indeed lamentable that the Press Note, while attempting to placate National leaders, should persist in the malicious vilification of Catholics and their ecclesiastics, who have chosen to differ from the Government in the matter of their recent educational spurt which seeks to totally eliminate all private agencies in the sphere of primary education and deny the imparting of religious instruction by Christians to their children in their schools outside class hours: a measure calculated to cut at the root of the policy of religious neutrality accepted by civilised administration everywhere.

It is deplorable to find that the Press Note, in the face of overwhelming facts to the contrary, seeks to

believe in the efficacy of a total denial. The conception of "people's movements" accepted by the Press Note is indeed curious. If the admitted agitation sponsored by Christians of Travancore, regardless of denominational differences and comprising a third of the entire population of the State is not a people's movement and the All Kerala Catholic Congress representing the Catholics of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar a 'people's organisation' one fails to understand the connotation of those expressions. That no individual and no organisation representative of Christians has up-to-date recorded any note of dissent amply demonstrates the unanimity of thought and concert in this behalf among the Christians.

The President of the All Kerala Catholic Congress is placed under detention in the Central Prison in purported exercise of the Defence Regulations—an emergency Proclamation in derogation of fundamental rights of the citizens of a state whose subjects have been proverbially loyal to a fault to their sovereign—measure which ought to have been abrogated on the cessation of hostilities. In spite of repeated demands from platforms throughout the length and breadth of the State to put him on trial if there is any plausible allegation of offence against him, it is indeed a pity that Government should still choose to keep him in detention. Mr. P. T. Chacko, a member of the Managing Committee of the same popular organisation is in police lock up on a charge of sedition with bail refused.

"In respect of the prohibitory orders it may be observed that the District Magistrate of Trivandrum, by

an order dated 18th December, 1945 under the Police Act prohibited any meetings or demonstrations of whatever nature" in connection with the Muslim Conference and the order has not yet worked itself out. The District Magistrate of Kottayam following this lead from the metropolis of the state promptly issued orders on the 24th December prohibiting all processions in his District and the District Magistrate of Quilon by order dated 28th December, besides prohibiting processions throughout the District, banned public meetings in the towns of Quilon and Alleppey. The two latter orders do not even attempt to draw any distinction as to the section of the public sponsoring the meeting or the processions concerned. Besides these, by a notification R. O. C. 2046/45/CS the Government purporting to act under Rule 56 of the Defence of Travancore Rules ordered "that no public procession shall be held during the period of three months". It is significant that these orders are not directed against any particular class of people or adherents of any particular scheme of political thought.

Though it is not the purpose of this committee in this context to refer to the various prohibitory orders served on individuals belonging to the State Congress and the Communist party in Travancore, it is pertinent to note that three responsible leaders of the State Congress and a greater number of communist leaders have been prohibited from public platforms. If these orders in denial of the elementary rights of public speech and the right of taking out processions do not amount to a wanton encroachment on the civil rights of the people

one fails to understand what may denote such denial. The professed ban on Communists and their activity is but in device to make out that subversive movements are the targets of these indiscriminate orders, a handy brush with which to tar all movements by all sections of the people in the State.

The Press Note seeks conveniently to ignore the circumstance that two Hindu members of the Travancore Legislature who owe no particular allegiance to any political party have issued a joint statement wherein they have unhesitatingly condemned the ruthless suppression of civil liberties in the State.

On the question of flags, it is illuminating to note that an administration under the responsibility of an erstwhile Secretary of the Indian National Congress and one who even recently at Madras advocated the maintenance of "Akhand Hindustan" even at the cost of civil war in India should have prohibited the flying even by the State Congress of the National Flag in Travancore. It is significant to recall that on a threat of prohibiting the session, the State Congress was compelled to remove the National Flag hoisted at the venue of their conference at Quilon, a couple of months back. This insult to National flag was the subject of a resolution by the working Committee of the Congress which called forth, in reply, the notification R. O. C. 5168/45 Genl. dated the 1st October 1945 reaffirming the prohibition against all except the Travancore Flag and the Union Jack. Besides, the flags flown by Christians at their religious celebrations and in connection with their high festivals which do not fall within the scope of

the term "flags" as ordinarily understood, where compelled to be removed at Elikkulam in North Travancore and attempted to be removed though without success at Ponkunnam a few weeks back.

It is really unbecoming the dignity and fairness of a Government Press Note to characterise a popular agitation on a religious question as being of certain disappointed applicants for entertainment in the service and of trespassers on Government lands supported by misguided ecclesiastics, in spite of their realisation of the intensity and depth of feeling evinced by the Christian subjects of His Highness the Maharaja in respect of the matter in controversy. If, to the author of Press Note, the Christian insistence on the maintenance of their religious rights appears to be a misguidance it cannot be helped. Christian ecclesiastics would be guilty of failure of duty and unfaithfulness to their Master if they do not stand by their flock in this matter of fundamental religious right.

Secretary,
Education Committee,
All Kerala Catholic Congress.

Kottayam,
7th January 1946.

A Word to Christian Youth

The laws that govern society are of two kinds—human and divine, and established religion and established civil government are, respectively, the embodiment of each. When Civil Power promulgates legislation it should be careful not to encroach upon divine law ie. not to over ride religion. St. Peter the first supreme pontiff of the Catholic Church reminded the rulers of the State of those days that they should not pass laws contrary to the Laws of God and that if they did, they would be resisted. The educational laws recently enacted by the Travancore Government are inconsistent with the sacred rights of the Church. The functions and the rights of the Church in the field of education are well known to every Catholic and need not therefore be described here at length. To impart education to their children is a fundamental right of Catholic parents and of the Catholic Church, which represents them and which is the greatest educational agency in the world. According to our faith educational training from childhood on is an integral part of our preparation for the attainment of our spiritual ends and therefore our education cannot be divorced from our religion. We might recall to mind in this connection the well known dictum of Hillaire Belloc: "Our schools and our Faith stand or fall together"

We should, therefore, continue the present agitation on peaceful and constitutional lines, with the object of getting the recently enacted laws rescinded or radically amended. These laws are opposed to our fundamental

rights and deny to us the liberties which we were enjoying for centuries. Mr. Thariath Kunjithomman our accredited leader and Mr. P. T. Chacko the courageous and selfsacrificing member of the Education Committee, Catholic Congress are in jail. We who firmly believe in the sacredness of Service and Sacrifice as exemplified on Calvary will not turn back on our path by threats of arrests and invectives hurled against us. Not for hundreds but for thousands of years have we cherished these fundamental rights and in defence of those rights we shall fight on undaunted. We shall not fear or falter in the fulfilment of this sacred duty. What is more praiseworthy than to sacrifice our all for God? Under the severest persecution and the wildest calumny the Apostles of Christ went on cheerfully spreading the truths of the Gospel all over the world. Are we not the true descendants of those brave souls? The autocratic rulers of Rome who could arrest or imprison or kill at will wanted our predecessors to renounce Christ and to worship their idols. They went on persecuting the Christians for three long centuries. Christians never lost their faith, never lost their courage. In like manner let us all gather together under the flag of the All Kerala Catholic Congress, for the success of our cause, the preservation of our rights and liberties.

Cyriac Kandathil,

General Secretary,

All Kerala Catholic Congress.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY ALL TRAVANCORE CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE, PALAI

Resolution I. This conference of the Christians of all denominations of Travancore places on record its deep sense of loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor of India.

Mover President.

II. This Conference of all denominations of Travancore places on record its deep sense of loyalty to His Highness The Maharaja of Travancore.

Mover President.

III. This Conference of Christians belonging to the Syrian and Latin Catholics the Jacobites, Marthoma, Anglican, S. I U. C. and L. M. S. Denominations held at Palai, Meenachil, Travancore on 20th January 1946 welcomes the introduction in the State of compulsory Primary Education and places on record its deep concern at the declaration of the intention of Government to assume full control of Primary Education as it envisages complete elimination of Private agencies from the field of primary education.

This Conference while protesting against this revolutionary and totalitarian educational policy of the State points out:-

That the introduction of compulsory education does not necessarily imply that private agencies should be stifled out of existence;

That the system of Grant-in aid Schools will to a remarkable extent reduce the enormity of the burden entailed by a programme of State-wide compulsory Education without in any way impeding the progress of the Scheme;

That the encouragement of Private Agencies in the field of Education will promote the speedy growth of institutions tending towards the attainment of the object in view, viz., the total removal of illiteracy in less than the period of ten years;

That the system is one recognised and adopted by progressive and civilised countries; that in so far as and to the extent to which management Schools conform in the matter of secular education to the standards set up by Government in that behalf they are entitled to receive from the State allotments for primary education the same amount as it costs the Government to educate the same number of children in Government institutions;

That the refusal of grant-in-aid to private management and schools is calculated to terminate their existence, thus denying them the right to co-operate with Government in a matter in which they have been for the past eighty years engaged to the lasting credit of the State by raising its percentage of literacy far higher than that in any other State or Province in India;

This Conference is of opinion that the inauguration of the new policy without provision for grant-in-aid schools is tantamount to the total prohibition of religious education in Schools; that the practice of imparting religious education to children of particular denomination to which the Managements belong, out-side School hours—a practice recognised and permitted even by the Travancore Education Code—1909—has not been known at any time to cause any hardship to any other community; that the opinion recorded by Travancore Education Reorganisation Committee representative of every religious community that "Religious teaching is an

integral part of education and that the absence of properly organised religious instruction as a part of everyone's schooling leads to deficiency in character and personality which cannot afterwards be made good" is entitled to great weight and effectively reflects the consensus of opinion in the country;

This conference desires to emphasize that the plea urged that the policy has the unqualified support of popular opinion and that the two Houses of Legislature passed resolutions in that behalf is unsustainable in the light of the circumstances, that the Legislatures had no popular mandate on the issue, that the report of the Committee had not been published or made available to the country although the Dewan President of the Council had an year before undertaken to release the report to the public before taking the decision on the floor of the Legislature on its basis and again in his valedictory address to the Educational Reorganisation Committee on the 22nd March 1945, stated that "the report will be placed before the Government immediately to broadcast it so that the population at large might converge their own opinion and their aspirations to this report and make their points of view available to Government", that even those official members who had signed the unanimous report had without even offering any explanation however unconvincing for their change of opinion had voted against the recommendations of their Committee, that the Dewan President in his Statement to the Council before it considered the report had in unequivocal language made known to the Sree Chithra State Council on the 10th August 1945 that Government had decided to accept the recommendations of the Assembly in that behalf thus officially declaring the Government position in regard to it and that the Legislatures have an overwhelming Hindu majority;

That the Christians believe that the duty of educating a child primarily rests on the Parents and the Church and may not be absolutely surrendered to the State whatever its political constitution may be that the claim of the State to the entire responsibility of the child is totalitarian in character and has to be resisted as a fundamental of religious faiths; that the denial of grants to the primary schools on the ground that they besides the cultural education imparted to their children religious instructions, amounts to an unjustifiable encroachment on their religious rights and direct violation of the principles of religious toleration recognised by all civilised administrations and

That the imposition of this policy in utter disregard of the rights of a powerful minority of the State is tending to undermine the confidence or actively making impossible the growth of communal harmony and joint civic and political life in the State, and therefore prays to His Highness the Maharaja that His Highness may be graciously pleased to command that the necessary changes be made in the policy and grant redress their grievances.

Movers Mr. K. P. Abraham

Mr. Gnanasikamani

IV. This conference records its considered opinion that the absence in Travancore of an enactment on the model of the British Indian 'Caste Disabilities Removal Act' is a bar to the exercise of one's freedom of conscience in as much as a person on conversion to Christianity becomes disentitled to a share in his family property and requests the Government to take steps for the early introduction of a similar measure in Travancore;

Movers Mr. Joseph Thaliath

Mr. D. T. Satyanesan

V. Vilification: This Conference of Travancore Christians notes with deep concern that apparently following on a publication of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's booklet 'World Religions' and the declaration of the Government's policy regarding the primary education in the state and the expression of the christian reaction to it; certain newspapers like the Malayala Rajyam, Kerala Kaumudi and Bharathi (the proprietor of the first and the editors of the other two are, it is significant to note, nominated by the Government to the legislature) have been systematically sling- ing mud upon the Christians in general and the Catholics in particular, their Bishops and priests, their religious tenets, sacraments and believes, in language often going beyond all bounds of even maintain common decency, not to fair criticism and journalist's morality, and calculated to insult the Christians and wound their religious feelings and arouse feelings of bitternes enmity and hatred against their Hindu brothren;

This conference also notes that in consenance with the newspapers tirade, some Hindu spokesmen like Agamananda Swami, president of the N. S. S., Mr. Mannathu Padmanabha Pillai have been carrying on a similar campaign in press and from the public platform;

This conference further observes that the repeated protest through resolutions of mass meetings, accredited organisations the Christian community addresses the Govern- ment against this malicious propaganda, has no far been totally ignored by the government, which is bound to lead the Christian community to the belief that the Government itself approves of the conduct complained against;

This conference again notes with deep regret that the language employed in some of the press notes and

communiqué issued by the Government as well as some speeches and writings of the Dewan himself, when referring to Christians and their religious faith and ecclesiastics partake of the same objectionable characteristics;

This conference therefore records its indignant protest against such malignant propaganda being carried on by such newspapers and individuals as above, and the policy of the Government in regard to it, and urged upon the Government that while resisting themselves from such regrettable policy, take due legal action against all offending journalists and publicists, and maintain amity, justice and fair play among the various classes of His Highness's subjects.

*Movers Mr. Manual Pyakada
Mr. C. P. Joseph*

VI. This conference condemns the policy being followed by the Associated Press of India and certain newspapers outside Travancore like the Hindustan Times, the Mail, the Indian Express and Hindu misrepresenting the christian position in the present educational policy in Travancore.

*Movers Mr. Henry Austin
Mr. Joseph Augustine*

VII. This conference strongly protests against the policy of prohibiting public meetings and processions and the serving of gagging orders on several public men and views the same as an inroad into the fundamental rights of citizenship.

*Movers Mr. Joseph Rodrigues
Mr. M. C. Mathew Maniagad*

VIII. While taking note of the release of Mr. Thariath Kunjithomman the President of the All Kerala Catholic Congress and an outstanding leader of Christians in the State, this conference of the Christians of Travancore emphatically protests against the action of the Government in having detained him under the Restriction and Detention Act, an emergency legislation to meet the exigencies of war condition.

*Movers Mr. Thomas Mathai
Mr. P. K. Kuriakose*

IX. This conference emphatically protests against the prosecution of Advocate Mr. P. T. Chacko and demands the withdrawal of the prosecution.

*Movers Mr. Cherian J. Kappen
Mr. C. A. Mathew*

X. This conference protests against the action of the Government in banning the Malabar Mail of Ernakulam and the Herald of Calcutta, two leading Christian papers of India and asks the Government to withdraw the orders banning those papers.

*Movers Miss. K. V. Mariakutty, Advocate, Trivandrum
Mr. V. M. Marangoly*

XI. Constitutional Reform This conference of the Christians of Travancore welcomes the intention of the Government to take a more forward step in the matter of constitutional reforms in the State, and particularly the three popular measures of eliminating the nominated and officials blocks in the legislature, and adopting the principles of universal adult suffrage and having an elected president and vice president for the legislature.

This conference however, view with grave concern the many features of the proposed scheme which all men of progressive view are sure to condemn and which make the entire scheme of the Government unwelcome and reactionary in the extreme.

This conference strongly disapproves of the intention of the Government (1) to deny reservation and other safeguards for the due representation of such minority communities as the Latin Catholics, the Muslims and the backward communities of the Hindu societies and (2) to make the upper house functional and facultative with powers, status and functions co-equal with the lower house—a device calculated to neutralise the decisions expressive of the popular will.

This conference is equally emphatic in its condemnation of the undemocratic device of placing the executive in more entrenched position and beyond the reach of the popular vote, and is greatly alarmed at the provision that the agreed decisions of the two houses will be implemented by the government, subject to a right of veto on the grounds to be publically announced thereby making the Dewan virtually the repository of the power of veto and exalting him almost to the level of the sovereign vis-a-vis—the legislature—a proposal which is contrary to all principles of true democracy and popular governments.

The constitution of the upper house on a functional and facultative basis and the concentration of powers in the hands of the Dewan over whom the legislature has no control and who is not elected like the president of the United States to whom the Dewan's position is claimed to be approximate is Fascist and totalitarian in character.

This conference records its considered opinion that the institution of monarchy is sufficient to maintain continuity of executive administration and that the ground urged in the press communique to deny the grant of a ministry responsible to the people is un-sustainable in the light of the successful working of the democratic constitution in Great Britain and that the indications given in the communique relating to the judiciary are definitely retrograde in character and it is calculated to subordinate it to the executive.

This conference therefore, prays that His Highness may be pleased to afford the fullest opportunity for the expression and consolidation of public opinion in relation to the proposed reforms before the issue of the proclamation, and that His Highness may be pleased to make such a substantial transfer of power from the executive to the legislature and to serve as a model for the rest of India.

*Movers Mr. Kunjithomman
Mr. E. P. Varghese*

XII. This conference places on record its considered opinion that during the last 14 years and more that Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer has been in Travancore, first as the legal and constitutional advisor and then as the Dewan, he has been following, as borne out by his speeches, writings and actions during the periods, an anti-Christian policy which has seriously affected the religious, educational, economic and political interest of the Christians in the State.

*Mover Mr. C. O. Oommen
Mr. Mathew C. Maliakkal*

XIII. Whereas inspite of the resolutions of hundreds of public meetings, representations of several Christian organisations and church dignitaries in and outside the

state, the government is only affirming their decision to assume the full control of primary education in the state,

Whereas in awarding the education concessions to the backward classes, an invidious distinction is shown by denying these concessions to students on conversion to Christianity and granting them to these students on re-conversion,

Whereas the difficulties in opening Churches cemeteries are on the increase inspite of repeated requests for their removal,

Whereas despite repeated representations made to Government by Christian associations and members of legislature for adequate representation in the public service, the grievance in that behalf remain unredressed,

Whereas the land policy and the imposition of the agricultural income-tax recently adopted has hits hard the Christians in particular and no effort is made to relieve the hardships consequent thereon,

Whereas these and other disabilities of the Christians are on the increase, and

Whereas the policy pursued by the Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer towards the Christians is decidedly unsympathetic and progressively oppressive,

This conference resolved that a joint memorial by all denominations of Christians be submitted to His Highness the Maharaja praying for the redress of all grievances.

*Movers Mr. M. C. Mathew Maniangad
Mr. Joseph Chazhikad*

XIV. This conference places on record its considered opinion that a federal committee representative of all the organisation of different denominations of Christians be constituted for taking joint action on behalf of the Christian community in Travacore and requests the representative organisations to depute their nominees to such committee and communicate the names of such deputies to Mr. K. T. Thomas, advocate, Trivandrum. K. C. Kuriakose, C. M. Mathew Thumbamun—Ex-S. M. P. A. Member.

XV. The president of the reception committee is authorised to forward these resolutions to the authorities and persons concerned.

PALAI,)

20-1-1946)

THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE TRAVANCORE EDUCATION POLICY

Extracts from the pronouncements of the Government of Travancore and of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, in their chronological order.

1919 The Education Expenditure Committee

"In the first place, we think that the Government are bound to acknowledge the philanthropic efforts of the various Missionary and other organisations to educate the people of the country. In determining the future attitude of Government towards the private efforts we have to take into consideration the claims of these organisations, to recognition and sympathetic treatment. Secondly, our historical review has shown that, given free scope and liberal encouragement, private efforts in education is capable of taking a satisfactory share in the development of education in the country. The pre-eminent position that private efforts occupy in the educational system of the State is a strong proof of its abundant vitality so that the most prudent and advantageous course for the Government to follow would be to extend its scope and enlist its co-operation further. A third reason why private efforts should be encouraged is that it would foster a spirit of self-reliance and co-operation and combination among the people which is, by no means, an unimportant factor in the national well being." (From the Report submitted to Government by the Education Expenditure Committee of 1919)

5th June 1933 The Statham Committee

"We feel strongly that there is no sufficient justification for the wholesale abolition of the aided agency. Such a policy would largely increase the cost of education, would do serious damage to longstanding vested interests and would not necessarily ensure better and more efficient education...It has, in the past, made a most useful and distinctive contribution to the growth of education in Travancore State. It has, in many instances, been represented by large and self-sacrificing organisations and it has also been the pioneer of education in the State...With many of them, both Missions and non-Missions religious instruction connected with education, is held to be essential in the interest of character-building and morality...They represent in many cases organised enthusiasm or personal enthusiasm which, unfortunately, tends to be absent from the more formal and impersonal machinery of the departmental agency...It cannot be denied that certain aided organisations whether Christian or non-Christian have a driving power behind them, which...must prove to be a welcome form of effort in the field of education...With regard to primary education, we consider that, with the exception of the few special kinder-garten classes which we have recommended that Government should open, Government should leave the experiment of attaching primary classes to English schools to the aided agency...We consider that Government should at the earliest possible moment, revert to the system of paying at least 50 percent of the deficit of a school...and that it should be within the power of the Director of Public Instruction, where he considers it necessary, to increase the maintenance grant of a school up to 75 per cent of the deficit." (From the Report of the Statham Committee dated 5th June, 1933.)

3rd August 1943 Sri Mulam Assembly

The Dewan President said:- "Let there should be any misunderstanding or misconception,... let me re-state the policy of Government. Government are fully aware of and alive to the importance, nay the indispensability, of private agencies in the matter of primary education. They are aware of the great part played by Missionary agencies and other agencies in the promotion of primary education in the State and without the efforts of these agencies this State would not have arrived at peak of education which it now enjoys." (Proceedings of the Sri Mulam Assembly dated 3rd August 1943; Vol. XXII, No. 10, Page 658.)

28th September 1943 Press Communique

"Government are also quite convinced that a system of *religious education imparted in the right atmosphere and environment and at the proper time would be beneficial*, if practicable, especially in view of the profound psychological and moral changes which are taking place in the world today and the mental disequilibrium produced in consequence...The solution is very simple, namely, that religious instruction in the principles of the Catholic religion should be imparted to Catholic students separately and so as not to interfere with the school work ..It will also be observed that whatever may have been the position in the past, there is a growing consciousness of the importance of religious instruction in India today." (From the Government Press Communique, dated 23th September, 1943).

30th November 1943 Press Communique

"The Government have sanctioned the following procedure being adopted for payment of these allowances as

well as the pay of the teachers of aided primary schools... The Inspecting Officers be authorised to draw cheques on Treasuries in favour of each teacher. The grant-in-aid bills to be for the entire amount due to the teachers from Government, i. e., salary plus war allowance from Government... The cheques will be cashed at the Treasuries by the teachers concerned... The Government have made it clear that the proper and regular payment of teachers is of paramount importance in the progress of education and the maintenance of educational standards and *they have devised measures to ensure the direct payment of salaries of aided school teachers in general with this sole end in view.*" (From the Government Press Communique dated 30th November 1943, published in the Travancore Information, December 1943, Vol. IV, No. 4.)

10th January 1944 Sri Mulam Assembly

"It is not the object of this Government and it is not even their practical programme in the next few years *to take up compulsory primary education in the whole State.* All that I look forward to as a result of the deliberations of the Committee is that in urban areas compulsory primary education should be taken up immediately or as soon as possible after the war. I want to make it perfectly clear that *this State, at all events, does not propose to act under totaliterian influences* and we do not want any supervision or control of schools or primary schools. We are perfectly prepared to have the present managements continue their schools. We are perfectly prepared to avoid the exercise of disciplinary jurisdiction. We do not want this measure should undermine the strength of the managements or annihilate the schools. *We do not want to deprive managements of initiative and discretion nor are private*

schools intended to be treated as Government schools."
(From the Proceedings of the Travancore Sri Mulam Assembly, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, Page 70.)

11th August 1944 State Council

'No programme of compulsory primary education can be launched without sanctions. Punishments cannot be inflicted on persons who do not send their children to school excepting under a statute providing for such punishment. Therefore a statute would be necessary and *that statute naturally will come before both the Houses of the Legislature*. But at present there is an Education Reorganisation Committee which has dealt with or dealing with the question of primary education. The report of that Committee will be placed before the two Houses of the Legislature and *in connection with that, the general opinion of the country will be ascertained* as far as possible, and on that a bill will be drafted." (From the Dewan President's Statement in Sri Chitra State Council dated 11th August, 1944; Official Report Vol. XXIV, No. 3, Pages 469, 470)

22nd March 1945—Dewan's Address

"Mr. Papworth has told us that there is complete unanimity on the proposals which, I consider, is a very welcome feature of the Report. I feel that the unanimity with which this picture has come into being is a very great and auspicious augury for the future... This Report contains not many patent headaches perhaps, but many latent ones—headaches which fortunately will not be the ailment of the Committee but which will be inherited by Government and be transmitted by the Government to the people at large. It is something that only the most tactful references have

been made to this neuralgic possibility... This report will be placed before the Government immediately to broadcast it so that the population at large might converge their own opinions and their aspirations on this Report and make their points of view available to the Government... Sooner or later, Government has to finance, has to back and subsidize, primary education... There are difficult questions round the corner. Questions as to the place that private managements will occupy in all these stages of education will raise for solution. Questions as how the all important problem of teachers' salaries and teachers' prospects are to be dealt with will also need our consideration. A uniform standard will have to be arrived at, and if one were possible the proportion that Government should take *vis a vis* the other bodies will have to be fixed. There is again the great question of moral and religious education. These are matters on which the Committee wisely has not entered. Those are matters which the Government will have to take up with the aid of such advice as they will undoubtedly get from every one of the interests concerned.' (From the valedictory address delivered by the Dewan to the meeting of the Education Reorganisation Committee, published in Travancore Information, May 1945, Vol. V, No. 9.)

22nd March 1945 Committee Report

"It is clear that a very considerable and worthy contribution to primary and middle school education is made by private agencies and that *the State cannot afford to lose this valuable asset*... Every help and encouragement should be given to private managements to improve their schools and to open new ones... We are definitely of opinion that well conducted and efficient schools should be generously aided by Government... In recognition of the additional burdens

which the new proposals impose on private managements, we recommend that Government should pay them a grant equal to 75 per cent of the salaries prescribed and that although the managements be expected to pay the remaining 25 per cent as soon as possible, this need not be made a condition of recognition for schools already in existence." (From the Travancore Education Reorganisation Committee Report, dated 22nd March, 1945, pages 19-20)

18th August '45 State Council

The Dewan President: (at the opening of the session) "The Sri Mulam Assembly has recommended to Government by a large majority to assume all primary schools under the direct control of the Government. It is the considered policy of the Government to assume control of all primary schools and to consider the teachers therein as Government servants."

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: moved a resolution recommending to the Government that "no sort of religious instruction should be given in schools except in schools started and maintained for that purpose only." (This resolution was passed in the Council, only the Catholics opposing it.)

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai, moved another resolution recommending to the Government "to take necessary steps to take up the whole control and management of primary education in the State as a preliminary measure to the introduction of compulsory education." (This resolution was also passed in the Council with a majority, of course the Catholics opposing it.)

The Dewan President (intervening the speech of Mr. K. C. Chandy who opposed the resolutions) "Primary education will be the duty of the Government. And Go.

vernment are not going to ask a single management to hand over their schools to Government. That may be taken as an unalterable policy of Government. But it may be that they will say that there must be a school for every three square miles and the Government schools will be located in a place within, say 50 yards of the Catholic school and if that Catholic school can subsist after the location of the Government school, by all means let it. But in all probability I may say, it is not likely to... I should be sorry to have any honourable Member of the House go away from this session with the idea that Government has got the intention of wounding the feelings of any body or interfering with the right of any body to educate their children in their own field in their own way. Realising as I do, the belief in the Catholic mind that education imparted should only be Catholic, and in a Catholic outlook and perspective, Government do not propose to stand in the way of any body sending their children to Catholic schools, provided the standard of general education of those schools conforms to the standards which Government have set in the matter of reading, writing, arithmetic and other things... Supposing... there is a Catholic school (in a particular locality), there is nothing preventing a parent sending his child to that school, so that the (Catholic) atmosphere may be continued... I may tell you at once it is not the intention of Government to interfere with the perspective, the atmosphere, and the religious back-ground of any school." (From the Proceedings of the Sri Chittra State Council, sent to a Member for correction by the Council Secretary.)

31st August '45 Press Communiqué

"Both Houses of the Legislature resolved, that Government should make themselves responsible for primary edu-

cation throughout the State... If Government accept the recommendations of the Assembly and Council and assume responsibility for the management of primary education it does not necessarily follow that there will be no place for primary schools managed by private agencies. If Christians or any other body of people desire to conduct their own schools in their own way, and for the benefit of their own body they will be free to do so; and if such schools satisfy the standards of attainment prescribed by the education Department they will be granted recognition, *but they will not be eligible for financial aid from Government...* If Christians conduct their schools.....and claim it as one of their fundamental rights, it may well be contended that it is also a fundamental duty on their part to pay for their on schools... Religious Instruction has never formed a part of the regular curriculum in schools, *but it is allowed to be imparted in school buildings by all denominations to their own adherents outside school hours...* The Legislature has recommended no alteration of the present longstanding rule and practice... Far from eliminating all private educational institutions, the two Houses have accepted the Reorganisation Committee's recommendation that *private Agencies should be encouraged*. Even if the Government decide to make themselves responsible for the management of primary education, there will still be opportunities for private agencies...to conduct primary schools." (From the Government Press Communique dated 31st August 1945.)

12th Sept. '45 Govt. Proceedings

"Government have decided to assume the control and management of primary education with the definite object of making such education both free and compulsory within as short a period as practicable... Private Agencies now

conducting primary schools in buildings and premises belonging to them will not be called upon to surrender those buildings and premises to Government nor will Government take any steps towards the closure of such schools, so long as they conform to the general standards of primary education and the general curriculum.. Government retain the fullest discretion *to give such encouragement and suport to any pioneering educational enterprise*, as may give useful instructions ancilliary and supplementary to the Government curriculum. Government however in consonance with their declared policy of religious neutrality. *do not propose to give any grant to primary schools run specially or primarily for the purpose of imparting specific types of religious education...* Government have decided that while they have no objections to private agencies conducting primary schools for their own religious or sectarian purposes, *such schools will not be entitled to the benefit of the grants available for the purpose of promoting primary education in the State.*" (From the Government Proceedings dated 12th September, 1945.)

16th September, 1945—At Ambalapuzha

"The Houses of the Legislature came to the conclusion in favour of the scheme and asked the Government to abandon the dual system... The Government have no objection to religious education being imparted in any school, whether that religious education was Catholic, or non-Catholic, Christian, or Hindu or Muslim... Religious education can only be given by a person professing particular religion to students belonging to that religion... Surely religious instruction cannot be a compulsory part of the education of those not belonging to the creed imparted... It is my duty to see that I do not swere to one side or the other, but preserve

an attitude of strict neutrality. It is; therefore, only those institutions who come within the ambit of the neutrality and conforms to that neutrality and reserve to themselves the possibilities of religious instruction outside those limits and boundaries who will be eligible for Government grants ...The Government have brought this system into operation and even if memorials are sent to His Highness the Maharaja or telegrams despatched to the Viceroy, the British Cabinet or the Pope, Government will abide by it and implement it." (From the speech of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, at Ambalapuzha as reported by the A. P. I. in Travancore Papers.)

25th September, 1945—Dewan's Statement

"Those responsible for the recent agitation within and without the State have overlooked the circumstance that no new principle has now been enunciated and that the teaching of religion to students in class hours has not been the practice in Travancore hitherto. It is needless to aid that Government arrived at their decision after the most careful consideration and that they intend fully to implement it; but there is an unfortunate bye-product of the agitation which was perhaps not expected by its sponsors...I have received several deputations of Nair, Ezhava, Brahmin and Muslim organisations who...are considering the whole position of sending non-Catholic children to Catholic schools and colleges. They are asking Government to open new secondary schools and colleges to accomodate those who will be withdrawn from Catholic institutions." (1) From a statement issued to the Press by the Dewan on 25th September, 1945.)

October 1945 At New Delhi

"The Government of Travancore is determined to proceed ahead with its programme of free and compulsory primary education which has been arrived at after most careful balancing of the pros and cons of the matter. Travancore holds pride of place in India in the matter of literacy. Among men the percentage of literacy is in the neighbourhood of 58 and nearly 40 among women. Primary education has been free throughout the State for a long time and has been conducted partly through the Government agency and partly through private agencies. There is no denying the fact that in addition to Hindu and Muslim agencies a number of Christian Missions including Catholic institutions have played a big part in the advancement of education. It was, however, clear that they could not have done so without Government aid. ...The report submitted in March of the Education Reorganisation Committee set up by the State Government revealed a most deplorable State of affairs. In private educational institutions, the teachers were paid miserably low salaries. ...The Committee therefore, asked the Government to pay 75 per cent of the salaries of the teachers leaving the management an option to pay the balance. The adoption of this recommendation would, however, have led to a system under which the Government had to pay three quarters of the teachers' salaries without having any control over the schools. ...Both Houses of legislature...voted in favour of the Government taking over full control of primary education and paying for it entirely... Hindus, Muslims and generally speaking, Protestant Christians in the main have approved of the Government's decision. Objection has been taken mainly by the Catholics who claim, that according to their faith, religious education is a

primary and indispensable part of general education and training in all branches of learning must be given with the background of Catholic tenets..... What the Catholics now demand is that although the Government has taken up the responsibility of giving free and compulsory education to all the inhabitants of the State, the Catholics are entitled to run schools with the main object of imparting religious education in their faith and still be entitled to receive grants in aid from the State. This means that the State will have to pay for practically the entire maintenance of such schools. If such a request would be granted...the object of the Government would only be imperfectly fulfilled...The Catholic educational institutions were either wholly dependent upon Government grants or private subscriptions because no school fees are charged from students...The Catholic demand that at places where there are or are likely to be Catholic schools the government must allow them to run such schools under their management and forebear from opening Government schools even though the population is overwhelmingly non-Catholic.....Government therefore asserts that while the Catholics are at liberty to run their own schools and conduct them in their own way with the background of their religion, they should raise funds to run their schools and not compel the Government to pay for them. [From the interview given to the Associated Press of America by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, at New Delhi.]

24th October 1945—At Chencottah

"It is conceded by Government, indeed it has never been disputed by the Government, that persons desirous of giving religious education in their schools and colleges, are at per-

fect liberty to do so in the future as they have been exercising the right in the past. . . . We have been told . . . that the reason why they are so anxious today was there should be Catholic atmosphere and Catholic spirit not only in the teaching of Catholic religion but throughout the day and throughout all the lessons What follows as a necessary corollary from that proposition is it becomes a matter of extreme concern to everyone who is not a Catholic to go into a school or college run on these lines Hindus and Muslims alike would get the same consideration as was shown to other communities in this regard If there is a general movement in the country for the purpose of giving instruction in religion . . . reasonable help will be given to them for imparting such teaching out of school hours, although not out of educational funds In the ultimate analysis it would be clear that it was only an attempt to secure the liberty to get Rs. 18½ from Government for every teacher as grant. No body prevented from starting any number of Catholic or non-Catholic schools. Managements are now paying Rs. 8 to their teachers and Government proposed to pay Rs. 25 to teachers of all schools, but the Catholic management wanted the Government to pay all the Rs. 25 per teacher to them or about 75 per cent Whatever else happened Government were not going to allow this to happen. If the Catholics contended that they were entitled to teach their children what they considered to be the best faith and asked for some financial assistance Government could understand that proposition but to contend, as they did, that Government should pay them for teaching Catholic religion in their schools to Catholic and non-Catholic students would make them open to the charge of misdirected fanaticism The freedom of one community should be implemented so as not to impinged upon, prejudice or hinder the freedom of their fellowmen".

(From Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's speech at Shencottah on 24th October 1945 as reported by A. P. I. in Chittrayugam dated 28th October, 1945).

20th November 1945—Dewan's Address

"No such programme of free and compulsory primary education can be started, or has been started, in any country excepting with the entire resources and under the auspices of the State . . . *The State cannot consent to the imparting of any particular atmosphere* by any body of persons to those who do not share the faith or the religion of that body. Religious education, if imparted at all, should be imparted outside school hours by teachers of a particular faith to persons of that faith. The Government of Travancore will give facilities for such effort to Hindus, Muslims and Christians alike under proper safeguards. The only question that remains is that of giving a grant, whether the whole of the teachers' salary or 75 per cent thereof. *This grant cannot be given to one community to the exclusion of other communities* and in any case consistently with the principle already outlined, the State could not as a part of its educational policy make itself responsible for such a grant when it takes up full responsibilities of educating all the youth of the State in primary schools. It has *always been stated* on behalf of the Government of Travancore that *they are willing to consider concessional grants for a stated period from the resources of the State* in Proper cases, when it is proved that any legitimate difficulties have been arisen owing to the introduction of a new policy . . . The Government in any way cannot but pursue its present policy right through". (From a statement given through the A. P. I. at Madras by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, on 20th November, 1945) (All Italics own)

